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ABSTRACT

To investigate the relationship between teachers' classroom behaviors and the self-concepts of pupils, four tasks were undertaken: (1) to present information; (2) to provide a perspective; (3) to design organizational schema; and (4) to furnish a conceptual framework for the research. The material categorized as information consists of research studies and educational project reports selected from a review of the literature on teacher behavior and the self-concepts of pupils. In an attempt to provide a unifying perspective, educational research is interrelated with educational reality as experienced by pupils, teachers, administrators, and other active educators. The philosophy of education inherent in the perspective is middle of the road--right of the radical reformers and left of the fundamentalists. The design of the organizational schema is categorization of self-concept into five constructs of self (the bodily self, self-identity, self-esteem, self-extension, and self-image). The conceptual framework defines the interaction between teachers and pupils as a behavioral dialogue (a psycho-social concept of interaction that contains the subjective reality of both the self and the other, and an observable objective reality, which can be perceived as the behavior of the two participants). In conclusion, the investigation suggests that pupils who are perceived as worthwhile, participating, and contributing members of the small society of the classroom will eventually reflect that perception of self as members of the greater society. (MM)

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Final Report

TEACHER BEHAVIOR
AND
PUPIL SELF-CONCEPT

Marilynn M. Kash, Gary D. Borich,
Kathleen S. Fenton

Research and Development Center for Teacher Education
The University of Texas at Austin

April 1976

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

To accomplish the purposes of this book we have undertaken four functions: (1) to present information, (2) to provide a perspective, (3) to design an organizational schema, and (4) to furnish a conceptual framework for the research on teacher behavior and its effect on the self-concepts of pupils.

The material categorized as information consists of research studies selected from a review of the literature on teacher behavior and the self-concepts of pupils. The selected research studies represent an effort to assemble both past and present research which, in our opinion, forms a basis for examining the relationship between teacher behaviors and their possible effect on pupil self-concept. These studies have been reported as fully as possible, and special attention has been given to research design, methodology, and each researcher's interpretation of his findings.

The teacher behaviors reported in these studies are necessarily those which had been selected and defined by individual researchers, and are by no means an exhaustive representation of all the teaching behaviors which could or should be investigated. The affective variables measured in the pupil population are likewise the choices of the researchers and reflect their particular definitions and hypotheses.

In addition to the research studies, selected education programs and projects designed for attaining affective objectives have also been included for information. The programs and projects are those which have been reported in popular and professional literature by their respective designers and implementors. We have carefully adhered to the original reports of programs and projects for details of their design and implementation and for the description of their reported results. In those instances where there has been an overt statement of affective objectives or outcomes intended or perceived by the program developer, we have used that intent or interpretation to place the report in the appropriate chapter according to our conceptual framework. Otherwise, when no overt statement of purpose has been provided, the program has been reported according to our interpretation of its intent.

Our second function is to add a perspective to the informative material provided in this book. To provide a perspective is to suggest that additional dimensions will be added to a mutually perceived or commonly held view, or, as in the case of the man who observed the three blind men examining an elephant, a perspective may serve to unify divergent experiences. We propose to add additional dimensions of depth and breadth through a critical analysis of the studies reported and further interpretations of the programs and projects described in this book. By interrelating educational research with the educational reality experienced by pupils, teachers, administrators and other active educators, we have also attempted to provide a unifying perspective.

The philosophy of education inherent in our perspective is well to the right of radical reformers such as Ivan Illich and his "deschooling" suggestions (1971), and considerably left of the fundamentalism of Max Rafferty (Postman & Weingartner, 1973) and his concept of education. Our middle-of-the-road position allows for occasional veering to either side, but the general population of educators will recognize and find our moderation comfortably compatible with their own. We have a healthy respect for the old fundamentals of education, not as the ends but as the means for acquiring education. Our concept of individualism in education is tempered by our concept of education as a socializing process. Our preference for less autocratic, student-centered, learning situations includes a recognition that for some students a more autocratic situation may be temporarily essential. We support the concept of community participation and control of public education, but only insofar as the participating public can accept professional guidance and the need for national, rather than parochial, standards for public education. Our desires for educational innovation and experimentation are countered by our concern that any such enterprises recognize the basic rights of individuals. We believe that our educational system needs to change in order to meet the needs of our changing society, but we are concerned that any such changes be founded in a knowledge of the learning process. We are also hopeful that change will be responsibly implemented in order to preserve and perpetuate our democratic heritage. It is in this affective area of beliefs and values that the goals of research in education and the needs of the researcher in education sometimes conflict. The need for control and manipulation in experimental studies are conditions far more easily met in a laboratory situation using animal subjects than in a community setting with human subjects, because the rights of the individual must be protected and the consent of the subjects must be obtained. In keeping with this philosophy of education for a free society, we are prepared to deal with the less than perfect conditions for controlled, experimental research in our educational institutions, and to accept and accommodate the limitations which must be placed upon the findings of research studies conducted in a real world rather than a laboratory setting.

We are not unaware of the dangers lurking in a purely pragmatic approach dictated by the circumstances of educational research in our society, but we believe that educational research, like medical research, has a two-pronged purpose: (1) to pursue identification of causative factors toward the ultimate goals of prediction and treatment in the best tradition of pure science, and (2) to provide, in the meantime, the most supportive and ameliorating information and techniques available based on the findings of present research to those actively engaged in the practice and application of the art of educating. It is our intent to serve the second purpose of educational research, and it is this intent, along with the recognition of the constraints experienced in real-world research, that has influenced us to assume a more liberal and accepting attitude toward the research undertaken to date in the area of teacher behaviors and their relationship to the self-concepts of pupils.

The state of the art and the level of knowledge now attained with regard to this subject provide the most persuasive reasons for assuming a liberal attitude toward the research. All research in this area, whether descriptive or correlational and experimental, is still in a process of inquiry and discovery as to the nature of the subject itself. While there appear to be occasional plateaus of understanding, there is still no mutual consensus among researchers as to what should be studied or how. It is difficult to determine what constitutes a major study of minor importance or a minor study of major importance under these circumstances without falling back on the criterion of institutional dominance, investigator prominence, or the study's appeal to popular interests. We have not made any effort to determine the value of any reported research study or program with regard to its importance to the study of teacher behavior and the self-concepts of pupils. Our evaluation has been reserved for the areas of design, methodology, and interpretation. In these areas we have exercised a somewhat more critical attitude and have applied more stringent criteria in judging the individual merit of each research study or program and the value of its reported findings.

Perhaps the most mitigating circumstances in favor of a liberal acceptance of diverse research studies lies in our lack of a precise language for defining either the subject or the process of affective research and communicating the results. Thus, researchers reporting studies investigating teacher behaviors and their relationship to pupil self-concept must stand on the same argument Lewis Caroll's Humpty Dumpty offered to Alice:

> "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "It means just what I choose it to mean--neither more nor less."
>
> "The question is," said Alice, "Whether you can make words mean so many different things."
>
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "Which is to be master--that's all."

The absence of mutual definitions has had two important effects on the research related to teacher behaviors and their affective dimensions. It has tended to make each study specific to its researched situation and therefore lacking in generalizability, and it has tended to reduce the impact of findings from such research studies by generating time and energy consuming debates over the terminology used and interpretations made. One of the most obvious causes for the language problem encountered by researchers in the behavioral and affective domains is the prevalence of adjectives in the working vocabulary of these areas.

> ... Humpty Dumpty began again. "They've a temper, some of them--particularly verbs: they're the proudest--adjectives you can do anything with, but not verbs--however, I can manage the whole lot of them!"
>
> (The Annotated Alice, p. 269)

Our perspective includes a recognition, but no final resolution, of any of these problems. We have, instead, simply selected those studies which we feel contribute to the knowledge of our subject and have presented each study using the terms, the definitions, the criteria, and the measurements provided by each investigator. Having presented the study thus intact, we have then allowed ourselves the license of interpreting the author in accordance with our own operational definitions, leaving the reader at liberty to disagree with either or both, the original investigator and the authors of this book.

We would like to encourage the reader to make use of any suggestions or criticisms we have made in regard to the research studies and programs included in this book. We are confident that fresh and interesting hypotheses for further research will be generated by our readers, as well as improved research designs and methodologies. We are hopeful that new projects and programs for implementing affective objectives into the educational curriculum will be created by our readers. Whether new research and new program products are the results of criticism directed at the contents of this book or serendipitous inspiration received while examining its contents, it is our hope that we can in some way increase the contributions of others to the study of teacher behaviors and their hypothesized relationship to the self-concepts of pupils.

The remaining functions we have proposed to perform are to create a schema for organizing and a conceptual framework for interpreting the research on teacher behavior and the self-concepts of pupils. Our organizational schema and the conceptual framework are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter I References

Gardner, M. The annotated Alice. New York: Bramwell House, 1960.

Illich, I. Deschooling society. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Postman, N., & Weingartner, C. The school book. New York: Delacarte Press, 1973.

CHAPTER II

The Organizational Schema

And

The Theoretical Framework

The psychological constructs of "self" such as self-concept, self-image, self-identity, self-perception, self-esteem, and self-awareness are gaining an increasingly important role in the professional perception of the purpose of educaton and the process of learning. The categorization of educational objectives into Cognitive, Affective, and Psychomotor Domains (Bloom, Engelhart, Furst, Hill, and Krathwohl, 1956) has not only provided educators and researchers with a useful theoretical framework and standardizing tool, it has also served by drawing attention to the holistic nature of the learning process and the interrelatedness of the three Domains in the actual experience of learning.

Learning objectives can be set forth for any one of the three Domains, but the actual experience of learning the objective occurs to the total person and affects the total "self." From this perspective, learning objectives from any one of the three Domains serve as intermediary objectives that will ultimately contribute to the self-concept of the learner. Within each educational experience there is a possibility for self-concept change or reinforcement, whether the experience is one of success or failure. As Bloom (1973) has expressed it,

> Successful experiences in school are no guarantee of a generally positive self-concept, but they increase the probabilities that

such will be the case. In contrast, unsuccessful experiences in school guarantee that the individual will develop a negative academic self-concept and increase the probabilities that he will have a generally negative self-concept.

The concern for pupil self-concept, general or academic, is not mutual to all educators, and a professional interest in the affective as well as cognitive aspects of the learning experience can be motivated by other concerns. For some educators, the affective aspects of learning are only relevant insofar as pupil interests can be used to "hook" the pupil and serve the cognitive objectives. Other educators consider pupil concerns and the pupil's academic and general self-concept to be valid objectives for the education process in themselves, and propose that the school curriculum should also include cognitive service to objectives in the affective domain. These educators, characterized as "humanistic," contend that since knowledge alone does not produce behavioral change, and since behavioral change is the recognized confirmation that learning has occurred, the most effective way to obtain behavioral change is to engage cognition and affect as complementary rather than contradictory forces in the educational process (Weinstein and Fantini, 1970).

Educational research related to pupil self-concept strongly reflects the position that the affective realm serves the cognitive realm. Researchers and educators are primarily interested in examining the relationship that may exist between pupil self-concept and pupil academic achievement in general and also with reference to specific subject content and skills. Research on teacher behaviors and how they affect pupils is generally concentrated on identifying those teacher behaviors that motivate and facilitate pupil academic achievement. Research studies investigating the relationship that may exist between teacher behaviors and pupil self-concept are generally designed to achieve the same purpose.

The Organizational Schema

When we began our review of the research investigating teacher behaviors in relation to the self-concepts of pupils, our area of interest was very broadly defined. Teacher behaviors were operationally defined to include all teacher traits and characteristics that were manifested in any behavioral mode--instructional styles, interacting patterns, and self-reported or observed behavioral expressions of attitudes, values, and beliefs. The term "self-concept" was operationally defined to include research that related specifically to self-concept or any of the self-construct terms, and to any pupil-referenced variable in the affective domain. The development of a theoretical framework and the paucity of research studies, both quantitatively and qualitatively, led us to include selected studies in which we could clearly discern a teaching behavior that would appear in a teacher's relationship with his pupils, whether or not the behavior under study was being performed by teachers with pupils in a classroom situation.

In reviewing the research, it became quite evident that self-construct terms are used interchangeably and according to distinctions of interpretation made for any self-construct term at any one author's discretion. The distinctions and interpretations made, however, were not always clear and not always provided in the report. The terms self-concept, self-image, self-perception and self-identity are generally used to represent an individual's overall concept of himself and the systems of beliefs, attitudes, and hypotheses an individual holds about himself. Self-Esteem, self-value, and self-worth are usually used as terms representing a self-judgment made in accordance with internalized standards and values. Self-perception (realistic or unrealistic), self-awareness, and self-knowledge generally represent a congruence or dissonance between some perceived external standard and internalized measure. The ideal self generally represents an hypothesized model for the individual in accordance with his values.

Since the interpretations and uses of the self-construct terms were not consistent in the research, and since we had decided to group the research studies on affective product variables by an interpreted relationship to a particular self-construct category, we were confronted with a need for operationally defined self-construct categories and a system for their organization.

It was also quite clear from the interpretations and methodologies used in the research studies that the psychological constructs of the self were generally and broadly assumed to be representations of the self-as-subject, the self-as-object, and the self-as-process or "doer," without reference to the conflicts among "self" theorists as to the properties of the "self" (Allport, 1961; Buhler, 1962; Chein, 1944; Erikson, 1963; Koffka, 1935; Lundholm, 1940; Rogers, 1959; Sherif, 1947; Snygg and Combs, 1949; and Symonds, 1951).

In order to establish working definitions for the self-constructs and the self-construct categories, we reviewed the psychological theories of self and that of George H. Mead (1934) and the definitions of each self-construct. Both the self-construct categories and the descriptive definitions formulated by Allport (1961) were selected as being the most adaptable and inclusive. The definitions for each of the self-constructs helped us formulate working definitions of the self-constructs and provided an emphasis for each self-construct as a category which could be used to organize the studies. The categories as presented by Allport represent a developmental sequence, but our intent is to use them simply as organizers.

The categories selected from Allport and the emphases derived from his descriptions are:

Category	Derived Emphasis
Bodily Self	Physiological
Self-Identity	Language and relationship
Self-Esteem	Autonomy, pride
Extension of Self	Affiliation, competition
Self-Image	Values, Rules, Standards

Two other categories, the Coping Self and Planning Self, with emphasis on problem-solving and goal-setting, were discarded as categories. The emphases of these two constructs were retained as variables and were assigned according to our own definitions of the categories.

To expand the definitions of each category for our organizational needs we examined other theories of self development and aligned them with Allport's. From the descriptions of reasonably parallel developmental categories we were able to expand the list of variables that related to each self-construct category as well as gain additional content information for our operational definitions of the self-constructs themselves. Other psychological theories were then examined and the descriptions of the constructs within them were used to guide our categorizations of the research studies, and also to enrich the definitions of the self-constructs. The following chart using three representative psychological theories shows the process of alignment used and the basis it provided for formulating definitions. Freud's three stages of development are used as reference points and, in addition, the affective continuum developed by Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (1964) was included to further expand the usefulness of the organizational schema as an interpretive tool as well. The three theories demonstrating the process of alignment are Erikson's Eight Stages of Man (1963), Maslow's Basic Needs (1970) and the Character Types of Peck and Havighurst (1960).

Insert Chart Here

Since all of these theories express either stages of development or hierarchies, it may be difficult for the reader to divorce himself from a hierarchical or developmental concept of the organizational schema.

Freud Psychological Constructs	Maslow Hierarchy of Needs	Peck-Havighurst Character Typology	Erikson 8 Ages of Man	Allport Aspects of Self	Krathwohl et al. Categories of Affective Domain
	Physiological Needs	Amoral	I. Oral-sensory Basic Trust vs. Mistrust	Sense of Bodily Self	Receiving
Id	Safety Needs	Expedient	II. Muscular-Anal Autonomy vs. Shame-Doubt		
			III. Locomotor-Genital Initiative vs. guilt	Sense of Self-Identity	
Superego	Belonging and Love Needs	Conforming Irrational Conscientious			Responding
			IV. Latency Industry vs. Inferiority	Sense of Self-Esteem	
	Esteem Needs				Valuing
Ego	Self-Actualization Needs	Rational	V. Puberty-Adolescence Identity vs. Role Confusion	Sense of Self-Extension	Organizing
		Altruistic	VI. Young Adulthood Intimacy vs. Isolation		
			VII. Adulthood Generativity vs. Stagnation	Sense of Self-Image Rational Coper	Characterizing
			VIII. Maturity Ego Integrity vs. Despair	Propriate Striving	

But depicted stages and hierarchical constructs represent a continuum along which the constructs of stages, or types, or needs, indicate a perceived emphasis for the developmental sequence. Instinctual drives, oral-sensory stimuli, the sense of the bodily self, physical needs, and impulsivity, for example, are continuous through all stages of development and, after an initial emphasis may remain constant or may subside in the succeeding stages and may even reappear as an emphasis at a later stage in development. Used as categories, however, these constructs no longer represent a continuum. For example, as a category, the Bodily Self will include any research reported on any teacher behavior in relation to any physical characteristic of pupils,regardless of pupil age or grade level.

It is important to remember that while we have appropriated the self-construct terms of Allport's self theory and have used the emphasis of the developmental stages as guides for interpretation, both the categories and the self-constructs as defined and used hereafter should be understood as products of our interpretations and should not be construed as representing or supporting any one particular theory of self.

The organizational categories and self-constructs as we have defined them are:

The Bodily Self

> The sense of self differentiated from others and the environment, a sense of the self as a physical entity, a sense of self-continuity, and a basic sense of trust or mistrust experientially derived.

This category contains studies that related to the physical characteristics of pupil, socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics, the physical and emotional environment, and trait variables associated with the initial psychological sense of trust or mistrust. Examples of variables included in this category are: sex, physical appearance, race, socioeconomic status, aggressiveness, anxiety, trust and mistrust.

Self-Identity

> The sense of self in relation to others and the environment, the sense of self as both subject and object.

This category includes studies related to language behavior, belongingness, and acceptance or rejection of others. Representative variables for this category are: self-acceptance, self-awareness, roles, independence, hostility, attitude toward authority, self-consistency, and openness.

Self-Esteem

> The sense of self as valued by the self and others. The sense of self as being of positive or negative value in accordance with internalized standards and values.

This category contains studies related to pupil self-esteem, self-value, self-respect, self-evaluation, and self-criticism. Representative variables for this category are: autonomy, competitiveness, cooperation, flexibility, conformity, rigidity, and status needs.

Self-Extension

> The sense of self as performer and doer, and the observable Performing Self.

This category includes studies related to the sense of self as a performer and doer. Representative variables for this category are: motivation, creativity, initiative, participation, avoidance, goal-setting and task performance.

Self-Image

> The sense of the total self as perceived by the individual and the sense of the ideal self. The sense of self as a functioning entity with a past, present and future image.

This category contains studies related to pupil self-image and ideal self. Variables in this category include locus of control, self-expectations, confidence, morals, standards, and competence.

The brief definitions of the self-constructs presented here are more fully expanded as process definitions in the introduction to each chapter.

It should also be noted that the variables listed under the self-construct categories are those derived from the descriptions of the same or parallel constructs of self provided by theorists. More often than not, we found no research studies of teacher behaviors remotely or specifically related to these pupil-referenced product variables. One reason for this is that many of these variables are not perceived as in any way related to pupil academic performance, and another reason is that many of these variables if researched would appear to suggest both positive and negative effects, too idiosyncratic in their effects on individual pupils' self-concept and subsequent academic performance for other than psychological interest. However, the most obvious constraint is our primitive state of knowledge as to what to measure, when to measure, and how to measure in order to obtain evidence of change in a pupil's psychological constructs of self.

The Theoretical Framework

Research based upon the hypothesis that teacher behaviors have an effect upon the self-concepts of pupils reflects an assumption that teachers are influential in the lives of pupils. It also reflects an assumption that self-concepts, or psychological constructs of the self, are acquired in social interaction and are subject to change. It must also be assumed that change must occur as the result of the content in the interaction and that this content is specifically relevant to the formation of psychological self-constructs.

These assumptions, which in our opinion are inherent in the hypothesis, and the hypothesis itself are strongly suggestive of the social theory of self advanced by G. H. Mead (1934) in which the self is conceived as a social product that is formed through the process of internalizing and organizing psychological experiences. The psychological experiences are, according to this theory, the result of the individual's exploration of his physical environment and the reflections received from those persons perceived by the individual as "significant others."

Using this theory as a theoretical framework from which we may examine the research studies testing the hypothesis that teacher behaviors will have an effect on the self-concepts of their pupils, we can examine the role of the teacher as a significant other, the school environment and the role of teachers in the environment, and the role of the pupil as the individual who is forming a concept of self. In addition, we must examine the content of the interaction taking place between the teacher and the pupil with regard to the specific behavior of the teacher and the nature of the psychological experience derived by the pupil from the interaction.

To accomplish this we have conceptualized a behavioral dialogue in which the pupil, as the individual acquiring a concept of self, is designated as the Developing Self, and the teacher, as the reflector of the self in this social dialogue, is designated as the Significant Other or Salient Other. The environment which is under exploration by the pupil consists of the physical environment of the school and all the "others" who are present in that environment or have an impact upon it. The internalizing and organizing processes are conceived in their simplest terms as cognitive processes of association, differentiation, and generalization.

The concept of the behavioral dialogue, if internalized by the reader, will be of considerable assistance in understanding the process definitions provided for each of the five psychological constructs of self. This framework is the basis of our interpretations of the research findings, and the basis of the criticisms and suggestions offered throughout this book. The following definitions and descriptions of frequently used terms are intended to help the reader further this understanding of the theoretical framework and the concept of the behavioral dialogue.

The Behavioral Dialogue

The behavioral dialogue is a psycho-social concept of interaction that contains the phenomenal field, or the subjective reality (Rogers, 1959) of both the developing self and the significant other, and an observable, objective reality which can be perceived as the behavior of the two participants. All psychological experiences that have any impact or influence on the developing self occur in the behavioral dialogues between the developing self and significant or salient others. The interaction between the developing self and the environment is also defined as a behavioral dialogue if the interaction between the self and the environment is in any way a source of psychological experiences contributing to the concept formation of the developing self.

The Developing Self

The Developing Self is a term intended to convey a dynamic concept of the self as remaining forever subject to change through the impact of psychological experiences.

The Performing Self

The physical expression of self-extension that exhibits behaviors and produces products.

Significant Other

The significant other is an individual selected and unconditionally valued by the Developing Self.

Salient Other

The Salient Other is an individual selected or accepted by the Developing Self and conditionally valued for a specific reflection of self.

The interpretations of the events within the behavioral dialogue as positive or negative are based upon Rogers' theory of self. The teacher's role as a significant other in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom resembles that of a Rogerian therapist in one major respect--the attitudes expressed toward the self and toward the other member in the relationship. The teacher, like the therapist, must have a basic attitude of unconditional acceptance toward the pupil as a person and, again like the therapist, must have a non-defensive attitude toward his own personal and professional role in the relationship.

The extent to which these two basic attitudes are expressed will determine the extent to which the teacher can function personally and positively in the role of significant other. The teacher who can express an attitude of unconditional acceptance toward pupils is a teacher who has acquired self-knowledge and self-awareness. Through self-knowledge the teacher knows his own value system and the beliefs and biases that could intrude upon his perception of others and through self-awareness he can assess the effect his behavior has on others. The teacher who has a non-defensive attitude toward his personal and professional role as a teacher is a teacher who has acquired self-acceptance and self-confidence as a person and as a teacher. The non-defensive teacher does not perceive pupils as an extension of himself or as a reflection of his personal and professional adequacy. The non-defensive teacher sees pupils as individuals engaged in a learning experience whose performances and products reflect the nature of their experience. The pupil's performance and products are viewed as valuable evidence of the adequacy or inadequacy of the pupil's learning experience and as such, become the basis for the teacher's professional plans and personal responses to the pupil. The teacher who is unconditionally accepting of pupils and non-defensive toward his role in the teacher-pupil relationship can be sympathetic and supportive toward the pupil and constructively critical toward the pupil's products and performance. And, most importantly, teachers who are accepting of others and non-defensive in their teaching roles can acknowledge their own limitations, accept those of their pupils, and remain open to learning rather than reinforcement and to direction rather than directiveness.

In comparison with the behavioral dialogue between the Rogerian therapist and his client, the behavioral dialogue between pupil and teacher is more extensive and multi-purposed. The conditions in which the classroom dialogue takes place are subject to influences beyond the control of both the teacher and the pupil, but the positive and therapeutic nature of the behavioral dialogue in the classroom depends upon the teacher's ability to respond personally and professionally to both the psychological and educational needs of the pupil within the structures and constraints of the classroom situation.

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Introduction

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CHAPTER III

The Teacher as Significant Other
and
Controller of Pupil Environment

Teacher Populations, Roles, Significant Other, Performing Self, Controller, Self-Concept, Attitudes, Beliefs, Expectations.

Theoretically, and by popular belief as well, teachers in our society assume a powerful dual role in a pupil's process of self-concept development. In one role teachers function as significant or salient others, reflecting to each student an image of his performing self and his achievements. In the other role teachers function as the primary influence upon and as controllers of the pupil's school environment. For each pupil, his teachers and his school environment join his parental figures and familial setting to form the continuum within which the psychological experiences essential for self-concept development occur. No other child-adult relationships in our society can begin to approximate the dimensions of time, stability of place, constancy of function, and variety of opportunity for interaction that characterize the parent-child and teacher-pupil relationships. Perhaps it is the similarity of these two relationships that has led to persistent belief in the teacher's ability to influence the "character" development of his pupils as well as his pupils' acquisition of academic knowledge. What could weigh more heavily on the responsible and caring teacher than the implications inherent in the following statement:

> Every person who will ever occupy a bed in a mental hospital, every parent, every professional man, every criminal, every priest, was once in some teacher's first grade. Somewhere, sometime, everyone in our society has known a teacher who might have influenced him. The teacher's opportunity for impact is thus both broad and deep. (Fuller, Bown, and Peck, 1967, p. 5)

Even without such long-term assessment of the teacher's responsibility and the ultimate consequences of his impact on his pupils, there is also an apparent belief in the teacher's immediate power and influence over his pupils. Ginott (1972) clearly expressed this concept as a young teacher:

> I have come to a frightening conclusion. I am the decisive element in the classroom. It is my personal approach that creates the climate. It is my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher I possess tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humor, hurt or heal. In all situations it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or de-escalated, a child humanized or de-humanized. (pp. 16-17)

If parents, teachers, psychologists, educators, and researchers have all accepted the dual role of teachers and believe in their influence on the self-concept development of pupils as a working hypothesis (and there is sufficient evidence in educational literature to affirm that this is, indeed, the case),we should be testing this hypothesis and considering very seriously what attributes, what behaviors, and what professional functions have an important bearing on the teacher's-performance of these two important roles.

Teachers as a Research Population

Without including private school teachers, we are considering a population of over 2,000,000 individuals actively engaged in teaching in the public school classrooms located in urban, suburban and rural settings throughout our nation.

Approximately two-thirds of the 2,000,000 teachers are female and the majority of the remaining male population is concentrated in the secondary or high school level of our education system. Beyond the secondary level, teaching ceases to be a predominantly female occupation and the figures of proportional sex representation are completely reversed (1971, NEA). In the history of school teaching as an occupation the schoolmaster of early history was replaced in our society by the "schoolmarm" while the schoolmaster went on to become a college professor. As this would indicate, the history of teaching as an occupation reflects the social and economic values of our society along with an hierarchical concept of the value of education and educators. The distinguishing characteristics attributed to the majority of women who comprise the history of teaching and teachers gave rise to the stereotypes of the "pretty young school marm" and the "old maid schoolteacher," both of which again are more reflective of the female's social role and occupational opportunity than of particular aptitudes and characteristics that distinguish teachers and the teaching profession. We would still dare to suggest that socially determined limitations of choice and opportunity still play a larger part in determining the female's choice of teaching as a career than any distinguishable and measurable personality characteristic. For the same social and economic reasons, this may not be true for the male population whose choice of occupation represents a selection from a broader spectrum of occupational opportunities and even, in certain instances, runs counter to the operating value system and social press for appropriate male occupations in our culture. But the social conditions under which career choices are made and pursued are now rapidly changing and the research on teacher personality and behavioral characteristics based on teacher populations dating prior to 1960 (Ryans, 1960; Peterson, 1964) cannot be assumed to be representative of the present teacher population. Continued research might serve to identify what Biddle (1964) terms "main sequence variables" which include teachers' formative experiences, personality variables, classroom behaviors, and immediate and long-term effects on pupils and environment, that persist across time and among changing teacher populations.

Research efforts to discriminate between the general population and the population of teachers by a variety of personality characteristics using a variety of measures are well chronicled by Getzels and Jackson (1963). None of the reported studies had been able as of that time to successfully discriminate between teachers and the general population on any one or more of the personality variables tested. Efforts to predict the future teaching success of individuals with personality traits or to discriminate between "good and bad," "effective and ineffective" teachers have so far resulted in a collection of variables that essentially describe the social characteristics of any "nice" person. In the opinion expressed by Getzels and Jackson, these results are neither very helpful, illuminating, nor informative. What is needed, according to these two authors, is the identification of "specific and distinctive" components of teacher personality and particularly the specific and distinctive personality components of effective teachers. In pursuit of this end, these authors identified three obstacles which they felt outlined the problems to be overcome before such identifications can be made: (1) definitions, (2) instrumentation, and (3) criterion. In his later review of teacher behavior research, Ornstein (1971) found the same obstacles still unsurmounted.

As long as the good or effective teacher is conceptualized as one model, equally "effective" with all pupils, in all subjects, at all levels, for all psycho-motor, cognitive, or affective objectives, in all teaching-learning situations, it should be no surprise that the only traits or behaviors generalizing across all of these factors are those which characterize the socially acceptable, nice, helpful individual who is appreciated by most people, everywhere. With a similar global concept and disregard for performance variables and performance criterion, the definition of a master marksman would be reduced to a person with a gun and good vision, two identifiable but not yet specific and distinguishing components of the master marksman's performance.

Our present level of definitions, instrumentation, and criteria for research on teacher behaviors and their effect on pupil self-concept development gives even less indication that these obstacles are being surmounted. But from the theoretical position that teachers function as significant others and therefore affect the self-concept development of their pupils, we can examine the present research and attempt to interpret the results reported in studies of teacher behavior and its effect on pupil self-concept in the light of that theory.

The Role of the Significant Other in Self-Concept Development

The role of the significant other is one of reflection, but not in the sense of casual mirroring. To be a significant other is to be a selected and valued reflector but the processes of selecting and valuing are vested only in the image-seeker. The verity of the reflected image is dependent upon the capabilities of the significant other, but unfortunately verity is not a major nor even a minor determinant for selecting or valuing a significant other, at least not until the image-seeking developing self acquires an experiential level of sophistication. The selection of the prime significant other appears to be a matter of choice forced by limited options. The first choice must be made from those persons having the proximity and the potential for interacting with the image-seeking self. The most important point concerning the process of selection and valuing is that the process rests solely and unequivocally with the developing, image-seeking self. Having a role as a significant other in a child's life is not just simply a matter of wanting to assume such a role. This is a situation in which one is chosen without the option of declining the honor. A willingness to be and to function as a significant other may well contribute to the efficiency of the performance and may ultimately affect the quality of the child's self-concept, but an unwillingness to assume the role does not negate the selection made, it can only affect the adequacy with which the functions of the role are performed.

Along with the quality of presence or constancy which incorporates both the availability and the capacity to interact, even minimally, with the developing self, the quality of consistency which incorporates the ability to reflect an image having persistent, internal integrity, is essential to the proper functioning of the significant other. But here again, verity is not the criterion used by the image-seeking self in placing value upon the reflection supplied by the significant other. To the developing self, the image reflected by his selected significant other always has impact, but the reflected image can only be incorporated into the formation of the developing self-concept if it is consistent, stable, and basically non-selfcontradictory. The significant other may be constantly accepting, reflecting a consistently positive image to the developing self, or conversely, the significant other may be constantly rejecting and consistently reflecting a negative image to the developing self. In either case, the reflected image becomes a prime source for the psychological experiences considered necessary to the formation of a self-concept.

The Teacher and the Role of Significant Other

By the time a child reaches public school age, a developmentally and experientially limited concept of self is already formed and operating. Even those children who, in ever increasing number and at ever decreasing age, are placed in nursery schools, day care centers, and kindergartens have operating self-concepts subject to the formative influences of their daily psychological experiences. Regardless of the age at which a child enters into a system other than the familial educational system, the sources for psychological experiences are expanded and the continuum of the behavioral dialogue is extended to include the teachers or interacting adults and the new learning environment as important contributors to continuing self-concept formation by the developing self.

Among the adults involved in caring for and educating children there appears to be a mutual understanding that the mantle of authority over a child, a power previously held exclusively by the parents and shared with others only at the discretion of the parents, now falls upon those persons having societal rather than personal parental designation and endorsement. Should it also be assumed that the parental role of significant other in the life of the child will transfer along with the sharing of parental authority?

If we maintain the theoretical posture that only the developing self can control the selecting and valuing processes in designating who shall function as the significant other, the answer to this question will be a qualified "No." Teachers or other adults cannot automatically assume the functions of the significant other unless:

(1) The level of self-concept development of the child dictates a need for the continuing, total functions of a significant other at all times. Under these conditions of continuing need and dependency the developing self is again forced to make a selection in circumstances that closely repeat the limiting conditions of the initial choice situation. Placed in a new environment, a selection must again be made, and under these circumstances the teacher may be the only possible candidate.

(2) The parental significant other may have generalized the role of significant other to other adults so that the child in need of some of the continuing functions of a significant other accepts other authoritative adults as undifferentiated significant others.

In other instances the extent to which the teacher functions as a significant other may be limited by the needs of the developing self.

If the teacher's values, attitudes, beliefs, and perception of the image-seeking self result in a reflection of the self that is consistent with those of the parental significant others, the similarities between parent and teacher may well increase the teacher's functions as a surrogate significant other. However, if there is a conflict between the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the parents and those of the teacher, or a material difference in the perception and therefore reflection of the developing self, there is a break in the continuum from the familial to the institutional setting and the function of the teacher as a significant other may be curtailed or completely negated. In circumstances where the teacher models beliefs and behaviors consonant with the values and beliefs of the parents as when poorly educated parents value education, the teacher's role as a significant other may be made stronger through parental support, although the reflecting role of the teacher may be confined to this one value.

Again theoretically, when differences exist between the familial and educational systems and result in conflicting reflections of the self, the developing self can resolve the conflict by limiting the function of the significant other to one of the two reflecting sources. The source providing the most positive and affirming reflection of self and the reflection most consonant with the presently developed value system will better serve the needs of the developing self and be chosen to resolve the conflict. When continuing psychological experiences and positive reflections of the developing Performing Self promote the formation of new concepts, new beliefs, and new behavioral schema that conflict with those previously acquired in the familial setting, the role of the parents as significant others may be considerably weakened. In any case, where conflict and dissonance are experienced by the developing self as the result of two materially different self-reflections, the battle between the two reflections is joined in the developing self and affects the process of self-concept development.

Breaks in the continuum of experiences and self-reflections between the home and school environments that can be identified with socio-economic or ethnic differences are more obvious than breaks in the continuum arising from the idiosyncratic perceptual differences between parents and teachers who have the same socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. The developing self who experiences a break with his already acquired system of values and beliefs, or who either lacks constructs or has different constructs for approved goal-achieving behaviors, may experience a reversal or alteration in the reflection of self from a different environment. When self-reflections are negatively altered, it can be expected that the individual will experience more internal conflict and more dissonance and that he may express this upheaval behaviorally.

The break in the home to school continuum most commonly experienced by a pupil arises from perceptual differences between the pupil's teacher and his parent and results in two conflicting or altered reflections of the developing self. A change in the image reflected to the developing self can have the potential for producing a positive or negative change in the developing self-concept. It can be generally assumed that teachers intend their behaviors to have a positive effect on their pupils and that any negative effect is therefore inadvertant. The source of intended positive effect and inadvertant negative effect lies in the teacher's perception of himself, of the teaching role, of his pupils as individuals, and of their roles as pupils.

The Teacher's Performing Self

Role definitions of the teacher's professional functions often refer directly or indirectly to the teacher as a surrogate parent as well as an instructor. A typical role description appearing in educational psychology textbooks usually includes the Authoritarian Roles and variations of the other roles listed by Sawrey and Telford (1973, p. 94):

Negative Roles: Scapegoat, Detective and Disciplinarian

Authoritarian Roles: Parental Surrogate, Dispenser of Knowledge, Group Leader, Model Citizen

Supporting Roles: Therapist, Friend and Confidant

The authors of this textbook note that these roles are listed in order of their affective component and suggest that role conflicts will occur between the extremes of the teacher's Negative and Supporting roles.

In relation to the self-concept constructs as we have defined them, all of these functions or roles become teacher classroom behaviors and all teacher behaviors are viewed as products of the teacher's Performing Self. Like the Performing Self of the pupil with whom the teacher interacts, the Performing Self of the teacher includes the self-constructs of the Bodily Self, both physiological and psychological, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, Self-Extension, and Self-Image. And again, like the Performing Self of the pupil, the Performing Self of the teacher is a part of the continually developing self, influenced by previous and present psychological experiences and continuing the processes of change and growth within the on-going behavioral dialogue. The Performing Self of the teacher is still subject to the reflections from selected and valued significant and salient others, and from the environment. The self-concept of the teacher as well as that of the pupil is the primary source of both limitations and capabilities that essentially determine the behavior of the Performing Self. Theoretically then, the acquisition of prescribed behaviors for the teaching roles and the mastery of professional skills can be expected to enhance the teacher's sense of self-extension and his perception of his Performing Self. In performing the teacher's roles, each teacher brings into the behavioral dialogue existing between himself and his pupils his behavioral expressions of his existing self-concept and those attitudes, beliefs, and values that color his perception of himself, his roles, and his pupils.

The Teacher As Controller of Pupil Environment

The environment offers the psychological experiences of exploration, limitation, and self-impact as sources of reflection from which self-concepts continually develop. The pervasive influence of the teacher can be seen, at least theoretically, when we hypothesize that the image-seeking self can turn to the environment for the needed reflection of self when significant and salient others fail to perform this function. The environment usually operates in conjunction with significant others,and the two act in concert as the primary sources from which experiences and reflections derive and which ultimately result in the formation of self-concepts. When one of these two sources fails to perform its function, the developing self becomes more dependent upon the more constant and consistent reflection provided by the remaining source. But the function of the environment is, like the function of the significant other, totally independent of its "good" or "bad" qualities. A hostile or rejecting environment is as effective in its image-reflecting role as a warm and accepting environment but differences in the quality of the self-concept formed from the negative reflection provided by a hostile environment are to be expected.

The developing self must accept what the environment offers as opportunities for exploring, testing, and experiencing, along with the reflections it provides of success, failure, and self-impact unless and until the level of experiential development of the image-seeking self is sufficient to allow making independent and decision-based changes to another environment. The dependent condition of a self at birth includes the dependence upon the "environment" of his own body and the environment in which his body exists. Success or failure in mastering these environments contribute to the sense of adequacy or inadequacy and of competence or incompetence incorporated into the developing self-concept. The quality of experiences within these environments also contribute to a basic sense of trust or mistrust which has been especially emphasized by Erikson (1963) in his epigenetic development theory. The child who trusts his environment can be open, accepting, autonomous, and explorative and through these behaviors he can continue to acquire confidence and performing competence as his psychological experiences reinforce and contribute to the formation of a positive self-concept. The child who mistrusts his environment will tend to limit those self-extending activities which could provide him with the experiences and positive reflections of his performing self. The limitations upon his own activities limit his experiences and performances thus reinforcing the already negative and perhaps unrealistic self-concept acquired through his earlier psychological experiences which are theoretically responsible for the limitation of self-extending activities in the first place.

The child who seeks his reflected image in the environment of the classroom may not accept the teacher as a significant or salient other, but he will still find that teachers are the dominating influence in his classroom environment. Whatever the organizational format may be in the classroom, it is the teacher's role to plan, to organize, and to manage the events occurring in that environment. The teacher also directs the energies of the classroom members toward attaining curriculum goals as well as socializing goals, whether the methods implemented for attaining those goals are determined by the teacher along or with pupil participation. To implement any methodology, either teacher-centered or pupil-centered, the teacher must maintain and moderate the learning situation, setting limits, offering opportunities, and enforcing the standards for classroom behaviors. Each pupil becomes a part of the classroom environment, but each pupil, even while a part of the total environment, is making an individualistic contribution to the classroom environment, and that contribution is a product of each pupil's individual self-concept interacting with the teacher's influence in that environment. The influence of the teacher thus becomes a part of the reflected image of self obtained by each pupil from the total classroom environment.

Questions as to whether teachers influence pupil behaviors more than pupils influence teacher behaviors are best considered in the context of the behavioral dialogue between the teacher and the pupils in the classroom. The nature of this dialogue, its dimensions and its impact upon the participants, depends upon the individual value system operating within each dialogue member. We can hypothesize that a teacher whose basic psychological state is one of mistrust would be fearful and mistrusting in the classroom and in his relationships with pupils, parents, and associates within the school environment. But basic fear and mistrust could be manifested in several different behavior patterns. The fear and mistrust initially related to the significant other or parental figures could be transferred to a fear of all authority figures. To cope with this fear, the teacher might then identify with the authority figures as they are perceived in their authoritarian roles and proceed to adopt and imitate the role-empowered negative and controlling behaviors while at the same time seeking the approval of these authority figures and internalizing a value for strong, authoritative control. On the other hand, the teacher might continue to identify with the "victims" of authority, which might lead to an inability to assume or perform any authoritarian behaviors or might possibly lead to adopting an intercessory role, using the teacher's authority in an intermediary capacity between the authority figures of the school system and the pupil victims in the classroom in an effort to gain the approval and acceptance of the victims as a champion of their causes.

The teacher who adopts the controlling, authoritative model would be, theoretically, reinforced by the conforming behavior of his pupils and would be threatened by nonconforming behaviors. However, perceived threats to control and authority might well provide occasions for the teacher to draw in the authoritative support system of the school environment, thus providing additional psychological experiences that gratify the teacher's need to identify with, and gain the approval of the teacher's salient authoritative others. Successful control of pupils' threatening behavior would continue to reinforce the teacher's image of self as an authority figure and would encourage the teacher to continue the acquisition and implementation of controlling and power-based behaviors. Those pupils for whom the controlling, authoritarian teacher functions as a significant other would find their teacher to be a source of positive self-reflection when their behaviors were compliant and when they accepted the teacher's interpretation of the pupil role as a reflection of the teacher's authority. However, those pupils for whom the teacher does not function as a significant other or who do not accept the teacher's interpretation of their pupil role as compliant subjects to authority and control would have to select other behavioral options. Depending again on the value system and self-concept development of the individual pupil, some pupils might exhibit withdrawing behaviors while others might choose more disruptive, authority-confronting behaviors. Others might exhibit some compliant behaviors, defining and interpreting their conforming behavior to maintain the integrity of their individual self-value and self-concept. The teacher who has entered the classroom seeking acceptance and approval from his pupils at the expense of assuming his leadership role will not be likely to exert control or initiate authoritative behaviors. Theoretically, such teachers are more likely to encourage dependency rather than conformity in their pupils and are more inclined to interpret the products and performances of pupils as acts demonstrating a personal appreciation of the teacher. Dependent pupils who conform to the authoritarian teacher's demands for role performance respond to the overly non-authoritarian teacher by abandoning as much of the responsibility for their own behavior as they can, thus demonstrating the need for role interpretation and direction toward goals. The pupil is then rewarded by the teacher's attending behaviors and, being reinforced for dependent behaviors, continues to supply the teacher with the reflected image of an accepted , needed, and approved self. The pupil may also acquire the behavioral schema and effective manipulative skills necessary for maintaining dependency in the future during this dialogue. Pupils with an external locus of control who are dependent upon the constant application of external standards and evaluation receive attention and approval from the teacher's attending behaviors that reinforce a construct of an external locus of control. However, pupils who exhibit fairly autonomous and independent behaviors may threaten an insecure teacher's self-concept. The independent pupils may be viewed as pupils who cannot be "reached" and who therefore receive very little attention from the teacher, or they may be viewed as possessing or at least reflecting some potent authoritative source, in which case the teacher may respond to pupil-initiated behaviors by exhibiting complying or avoiding behaviors himself.

In both of these hypothetical circumstances the direction of behavioral influence is determined by the source that initiates the interactive behavior. The other participants in the behavioral dialogue assume a responsive role by accepting the initiator's interpretation of their role. With this concept of behavioral influence, the teacher who initiates controlling behaviors also interprets and limits the responding roles of the pupils. The completely nonauthoritarian teacher, however, creates a responding role for himself in an apparent, but not actual, reversal of the behavior-determining initiating source. The power to reverse the source of behavior initiation comes from the teacher's power to determine the nature of the behavioral dialogue and the roles of pupils. For either of the two extreme examples of teacher behavior presented here, the authoritarian and controlling teacher, or the overly nonauthoritarian and noncontrolling teacher, it is the teacher's behavior, based upon the teacher's self-concept and the teacher's interpretation of the behavioral dialogue that determines the initiating and responding roles of the participants. It is more realistic, however, to assume that in an average classroom, the average teacher will show tendencies toward controlling behaviors under certain conditions and responding behaviors under other conditions, depending again upon the teacher's perception of the teacher's and pupils' roles in the behavioral dialogue. Under general classroom conditions, teachers may alter some pupil behaviors and pupils may, in turn, alter some teacher behaviors, without either teachers or pupils demonstrating a discernible, consistent dominance or influence upon behavioral changes. Kleine (1971) has reported that, within her sample, when pupils behaved positively toward the teachers, the teachers responded with more, that is, additional, positive behaviors, and that when pupils behaved negatively, the teachers responded with negative behavior.

The teacher's interpretative and controlling powers in the behavioral dialogue between teacher and pupil are such that it is difficult to identify any pupil classroom behaviors as autonomous, independent, and initiating unless the behaviors exhibited by pupils are in direct non-compliance with the overt or covert directives of the teacher. Pupil behavior designated as exhibiting a positive attitude toward the teacher is behavior that evidences the acceptance of teacher-interpreted roles for pupils while pupil behavior designated as evidencing a negative attitude toward the teacher may be the result of either non-acceptance or misunderstanding of the teacher-interpreted role for pupils. But it is the teacher's interpretation of pupil behavior, the teacher's perception of the teaching role, and the teacher's standards and values for the performance of both teacher and pupil roles that dominate the behavioral dialogue of the classroom.

Theoretically then, while teachers may function as significant or salient others for the pupils in the classroom in reflecting the Performing Selves of pupils as determined by individual pupil need, the teacher functions as the controller of the environment and as the socially sanctioned interpretor of the behavioral dialogue in the classroom or other learning situations, and performs these functions in accordance with his own perception and interpretation. Pupils may function both collectively and individually as salient others in reflecting the Performing Self of the teacher, and teachers may use this pupil-reflected image for monitoring, evaluating, and modifying the performance of the teaching role in accordance with the teacher's concept of the role. The teacher is also in a position to choose among the individual pupil-reflections of his Performing Self, and those pupils who best reinforce and affirm the teacher's perception of himself in the teaching role become his valued salient others. The image of the Performing Self received by teachers is usually formed from a composite of pupil-reflections rather than from one single image, and thus may have both a positive and negative content at the same time. Groups of students and individual students, high-achievers, low-achievers, under-achievers, creative pupils, male pupils, female pupils, economically advantaged or disadvantaged pupils, student leaders and classroom disruptors, for example, serve as reflectors of the teacher's Performing Self and as reinforcers or challengers of the teacher's values and beliefs about himself and about others.

As a significant other and as a controller of classroom environment, the teacher's initiating and responding behaviors become a part of the psychological experiences of each pupil. The content of these psychological experiences is largely determined by the teacher's perception and interpretation. The teacher's perceptions and interpretations are the products of the teacher's previous and present process of self-concept formation.

The task of educators and researchers investigating the relationship between teacher behaviors and self-concept development in pupils is to identify those behaviorally expressed concepts of self and internalized systems of values and beliefs that enhance or impair the teacher's perception of self, of others, and of the teaching task, and which can also be shown to improve or impede the teacher's performance of his functions as a significant other and as the controller of pupil environment.

Teacher Self-Concept

Self-concept, as we have adapted and defined it, consists of the psychological constructs of self that represent an individual's sense of Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, Self-Extension, and Self-Image. All of these senses of self are developed either adequately or inadequately, positively or negatively, in accordance with the opportunity and variety of the psychological experiences of the developing self and the positive or negative reflections of self occurring in the events and interpretations of his behavioral dialogues. The senses of self thus acquired are expressed in the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors of the self and influence the individual's perception of his objective self and of others.

Theoretically, then, a teacher's sense of Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, Self-Extension, and Self-Image will be expressed in the teacher's behaviors and will influence the teacher's perception of the self-as-teacher as well as his perception of pupils and their roles. The influence of teacher self-concept on teacher perception and performance is of major concern to educators and researchers investigating the relationship of teacher behavior to self-concept development in pupils. To understand and interpret the relationship of teacher behavior to self-concept development in pupils it is necessary to identify the role that teacher perception plays in enhancing or impairing the teacher's performance as a significant or salient other and as the controller of classroom environment.

A negative or inadequate sense of self related to any of the self-constructs will, theoretically, result in limitations upon the teacher's Performing Self and distort the teacher's perception of himself and his pupils. The limitations imposed upon the performance of behaviors can be expressed not only by omitting or restricting certain behaviors, but by limiting the performing self to certain behaviors perceived as valuable to the self. A teacher, for example, whose personality assessment indicates a negative sense of his Bodily Self related to his physical appearance may choose to teach at lower grade levels because he believes that his physical appearance would be less negatively reflected by young pupils than by body-conscious young adolescents. Or, the teacher with a negative sense of his physical appearance may choose to teach at upper levels but may adopt a teaching style that permits him to limit his physical movement before the class. He may also assume teaching stations which afford some physical screening for his negatively valued body such as standing behind the teacher's desk or at the back of the room. Of course teachers with a positive sense of their physical appearance may also choose to teach at lower levels and may also exhibit limited physical behaviors as well as desk-clinging and back-of-the-room teaching stations for reasons unrelated to their physical appearances, but perhaps related to other negatively held values of the self.

Although imposed limitations upon the Performing Self may prevent a full actualization of the teacher's performing potential, the limitations may, or may not, adversely affect the teacher's ability to function in any of the teaching roles at an acceptable level of competence. But self-imposed limitations on the teacher's Performing Self which act to decrease the value of some behaviors and increase the value of others may well become the source for limiting the psychological experiences of pupils in the classroom. The teacher with a negative sense of his physical appearance may devalue physical behaviors and unduly increase the value of verbal behaviors. It is equally possible that a teacher with a negative sense of his own physical appearance or physical abilities may place undue value on physical appearance and ability and decrease the value of other behaviors. The psychological experiences of pupils in classrooms where teachers impose limitations and values are subject to limitations of opportunity and variety. At the same time, pupils will receive positive and negative reflections of their Performing Selves based upon the teacher's limitations and perceptual distortions. In every instance, however, it is the teacher's perceptual distortions that have the potential for negatively affecting the teacher's behavior and his functioning as a significant other and as a controller of classroom environment.

We cannot assume that teacher-reported positive or negative values of any one of the psychological constructs of the self will, by itself, predict teacher behavior. We can hypothesize, however, that teachers with realistic self-concepts evidenced by congruence between their self-reported concepts of self and objectively rated observed behaviors will not only function more effectively as significant others and environmental controllers, whatever their other capabilities may be, but will also be better able to improve their functions in these two roles as their understanding of the relationship between their behavior and pupil self-concept development increases. A realistic, rather than a positive or negative self-concept provides the best basis for reflecting the Performing Selves of others, and a realistic perception of one's limitations can encourage the acquisition of further skills. The open acknowledgement of limitations may prevent teachers from imposing their distorted perceptions into their reflections of the Performing Selves of others.

Teachers with positive and realistic self-concepts are, theoretically, in the best position to function effectively as reflectors of the Performing Selves of pupils and to provide them with more accurate and positive reflections of their Performing Selves. Self-confidence that is based upon a realistic perception of one's capabilities and limitations also provides the ideal basis for interpreting and accepting the role of the pupil as an active participant in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom. As controllers of classroom environment, teachers with positive and realistic self-concepts should have the perceptual basis necessary for creating an environment in which pupils will find a variety of experiences as well and the freedom to explore and take risks of self-extension under circumstances that provide psychological safety for their developing self-concepts.

From their studies of teacher self-concept, Arthur Combs (1969) and his colleagues found that teachers who had been judged "effective" had both positive and realistic self-images and were also decisive and consistent in their classroom behaviors. In this study by Combs et al., it was reported that a teacher's positive self-concept appeared to be the necessary foundation for creating a supportive classroom environment. Combs and Soper (1963) had found in an earlier study that self-confident teachers generally exhibited classroom behavior that fostered positive self-images in pupils.

Fuller (1969) reported that prospective teachers whose self-reports indicated a positive self-image and reasonable self-confidence also exhibited the flexibility in teaching behavior considered as necessary for fostering pupil autonomy and accepting pupil ideas. After analyzing the concerns and behaviors of preservice teachers, Fuller further concluded that student-teachers who were primarily occupied with personal self-concerns and those who were professionally concerned with their image as an achievement-oriented authority figure did not have sufficient freedom from self to allow them to perceive or address pupil needs and concerns. In a study of teachers' self-reported characteristics and their relationship to pupils' increased congruency between perceived self and ideal self, McCallon (1966) found that whereas teachers tended to select those pupils who closely matched the teacher's self-reported characteristics as the "most desirable pupils to teach", those pupils whom the teachers selected as "least desirable to teach" demonstrated the most change toward their ideal self from pretest to posttest. The investigator suggested as a possible explanation that although the teachers in this study may have perceived pupils unlike themselves less favorably they may also have perceived them more accurately, and were, therefore, better able to meet those pupils' needs.

Studies relating the self-concepts of pre-service teachers to their success in practice teaching and their perceptions of self in the teaching role were reported by Garvey, Lantz, and Walberg. Garvey (1970) reported that the subjects of his sample who were rated higher on their practice teaching experience also reported higher self-concepts, particularly on measures of self-identity which reflected the prospective teacher's perception of self-as-teacher. Lantz (1965) reported that student-teachers who perceived themselves as having more skeptical and critical attitudes and as being more autonomous in their behavior also received higher ratings on a measure of Classroom Emotional Climate. This measure indicated that these student-teachers had established higher degrees of rapport with their pupils and that the pupils had shown very little hostile behavior toward their teacher during the practice teaching period. Walberg (1967) found that prospective teachers saw themselves in dimensions that differed from those in which pupils usually perceive teachers and also differing from those dimensions in which the prospective teachers perceived experienced teachers. The prospective teachers in this sample appeared to perceive themselves on dimensions which combined the pupil-centered dimensions of empathy and competence and the teacher-based dimensions of emotional reserve and intellectual caution. The investigator suggested that this combination of dimensions reflected the role conflict being experienced by these prospective teachers.

In these reported studies, the relationship between the teacher's positive self-concept, realistic self-concept, and self-confidence, and the teacher's performance in the roles of significant other and classroom controller as reflected by measures of positive pupil self-image, positive change toward congruence between pupils' perceived and ideal selves, and by the acceptance of the pupil's Performing Self appears to be well supported.

The studies of pre-service teachers suggest the possibility that measures of prospective teachers' perception of self-as-teacher and self-concept could be useful indicators of the student-teacher's progress toward perceiving and performing the roles of significant or salient other and controller of classroom environment.

Teacher Attitudes and Beliefs

The teacher's performance as a significant other and as controller of classroom environment is strongly affected, at least theoretically, by the teacher's self-perception, role perception, and pupil perception. The teacher's behavioral expression of his values, attitudes, and beliefs will greatly affect the nature of the psychological experiences encountered by each pupil, and the influence of teacher perception upon the teacher's reflection of the developing self of each pupil may account in large measure for the variations in the schooling experiences among pupils of a single classroom.

Perceptual distortions displayed by teachers in their behavior toward groups of pupils having an identifiable characteristic are usually described as teacher-biases, a less pejorative term than teacher prejudice or perceptual distortion. But regardless of the descriptive terminology, the effect of perceptual distortion upon the teacher's ability to function as a significant other should be seriously considered.

Branan (1972) reported a study attempting to examine man's most negative experiences as perceived and reported by 150 college students of lower-to middle-class status, who were attending a small private college located in a rural area. Each subject was asked to write in detail his two most negative experiences which he felt had most affected his personal development.

The 300 responses obtained were divided into two categories: Interpersonal and Nonpersonal. The majority of responses, 257 in all, fell into the Interpersonal category and the largest category of negative experiences involved interaction with teachers. This category also indicated that more negative experiences occurred in high school than in college, and more often in elementary school than junior high school. Parents came in as a poor second in this Interpersonal category, and while it is recognized that some experts view teachers as displacement targets for hostility toward parents, the incidents reported were actual events involving teachers which had actually occurred in the lives of these subjects. The incidents described included humiliation in front of the class, unfairness in evaluation, destruction of self-confidence, personality conflicts, and embarrassment. Although the author cautioned against generalizing these findings to other populations, these results suggest that teachers, and particularly unperceptive and insensitive teachers, do have an impact which is just as deep and long lasting as that of those perceptive, sensitive teachers often eulogized in the anecdotes of famous people.

Nash (1972) obtained constructs from eight primary school teachers and had them rate their pupils (a sample population of 236 overall) according to the constructs. The constructs were obtained by having each teacher group two of three cards bearing three pupils' names to identify a similarity she perceived between two pupils in each triad. In this way, constructs based on teacher-perception of pupils were developed. Following this procedure each teacher then ranked her pupils along the obtained dimensions using a 4-point scale. Pupils receiving the lowest scores were the pupils most highly perceived by the teachers. The investigator correlated social class data for each student with teacher rank orders of pupil ability and determined that there was no significant correlation. Ability data was then correlated with the teacher ranking for each pupil on the construct dimensions derived from teacher perception, and a significant correlation was obtained. From these data, the investigator concluded that whereas social class bore a questionable relationship to ability and attainment within a class, teacher perception bore a positive relationship to pupil ability. High and low ranked pupils were observed and an attempt was made to identify the observed behaviors of the pupil with the teacher's reported perception of the pupil. The investigators felt that the system tested in this study offered considerable promise for determining if teacher perceptions and attitudes do influence pupil behavior.

Four attitudes obtained from an analysis of teachers' descriptions of their pupils were identified by Silberman (1969) in a study examining whether teachers' attitudes toward pupils were evident in their classroom behavior with pupils. The four attitudes identified were: Attachment, personal pleasure and affection in relations with the pupil; Concern, sympathy and support for the pupils' problems; Indifference, lack of involvement with the pupil; and Rejection, refusing to consider the pupil as worthy of teacher attention.

Teacher subjects consisted of 10 third-grade teachers from five suburban communities of a large midwestern city. Each teacher had a class of between 24 to 30 pupils, and had at least three years of teaching experience. All 10 teachers were females. Each teacher was first asked in an interview situation to select a pupil which the investigator could place in one of the four identified categories. To insure that pupils toward whom the teacher was neutrally disposed were obtained as controls, the teachers were asked to name two more choices for each of the four categories and the control pupils, one male and one female, were then randomly selected from the remaining pupil roster. Following this procedure, teacher behavior was observed in the classroom for a total of 20 hours. The six observed pupils were interviewed to ascertain whether they were aware of the teacher's attitude toward them. Each pupil was asked to compare himself to the other five according to the amount of specific teacher attention he felt he received. The categories of teacher attention were: Contact, Positive Evaluation, Negative Evaluation, and Acquiescence. The results of the study indicated that pupils in the Attachment category received more positive evaluation than all other groups. Pupils in the Concern category received more of every kind of teacher attention. The Indifference group received less contact but did not differ from the control group on other categories of teacher attention. It was also found that the Rejected group received similar amounts of all teacher attention and that rejection was primarily expressed through an increase in negative evaluation. Interaction with pupils in the Indifference group was characterized as brief, perfunctory, and infrequent. The analysis of pupil perception indicated that these six pupils were able to predict the amount of contact, negative evaluation and acquiescence they received and also the amount of negative evaluation and acquiescence their classmates received. They could not predict the amount of positive evaluation for themselves or for their classmates, nor the amount of contact for their classmates. The investigator commented that three main findings had emerged from this study: (1) teachers' attitudes are generally revealed in their actions regardless of attempts to conceal them and circumstances which disguise them, (2) teachers express some attitudes more clearly than others and pupils are more inclined to accept attitudes of concern and indifference more readily than attitudes of attachment or rejection, and (3)pupils are aware of teachers' expressions of attitudes toward themselves and toward others which may influence not only a pupil's perception of himself in relation to a significant adult but also his perception of other pupils.

Good and Brophy (1972) replicated and extended the study by Silberman using nine first-grade classrooms with three each of upper-middle-class white, lower-class white and lower-class black student populations. Data on sex and achievement status of the pupils was also collected and analyzed. Although the data generally supported the findings of Silberman, additional information was added through the observational data. The results of this study indicated that teachers nominated twice as many boys as girls to the Rejection group and that achievement status was related to all four attitudes. The Attachment group contained mostly high achievement students, while low achievers were nominated for teacher Concern, especially if they were girls and, if they were boys, especially for teacher Rejection. The observational data indicated more differentiation in teacher behavior toward this younger sample in accordance with teacher attitudes. These investigators noted that whereas teachers did not express gross favoritism toward Attachment pupils, they did find many ways to provide additional support. Pupils in the Indifference group received little contact and were seldom praised or criticized for their performances, even those that equated with the performances of the other groups. Teachers in this sample evidenced more avoidance of rejected pupils, often failed to give them feedback on their performances, and characterized what feedback did occur with negative criticism. These investigators raised several questions about the differentiated treatment received by pupils and the differences in teacher perception that cause them to become concerned about some students and rejecting of others whose behavioral characteristics appear similar to the observer.

Yee (1969) investigated the attitudinal patterns that characterized pupil perception of teachers and teacher perception of pupils, using data collected during a two year study which involved 112 teachers and over 2,000 pupils from public schools located in middle-class sections of two large, urban centers, one in the southwest and one on the west coast. The results of this study indicate that teachers of middle-class and lower-class pupils show different patterns of interaction with their pupils. The attitude patterns of middle-class teachers and lower-class pupils differ greatly while the attitude patterns of middle-class teachers and middle-class children show compatibility. The findings of this study lend support to the hypothesis that public school systems are structured on the value and behavior systems of the middle-class and are staffed by teachers who model and enforce these values.

Using the extremes of the scores from 1,042 kindergarten children in a large eastern school district, Ozehosky and Clark (1970) established two criterion groups of highs and lows with 25 boys and 25 girls in each of these criterion groups. Teacher ratings of pupil self-concepts and self-reported self-concept scores were obtained in addition to achievement data for these two groups. Analysis of the data indicated that even at this age level, self-concept is related to achievement, and that teachers' judgments of pupil self-concept were predictive of kindergarten achievement. No significant sex differences were indicated within groups on any of the measures, and the investigator's hypothesis that girls would be superior in both achievement and self-perception over boys at this age level was not supported.

Weiss, Sales, and Bode (1970) investigated the possibility that interaction between teacher characteristics and pupil characteristics were contributing to the inconsistent results of studies investigating teachers' facilitating behaviors. Ten teachers and 36 students from a large west coast high school volunteered to participate in this study. The student population was drawn from upper-middle class families and the subjects were enrolled in accelerated third and fourth year English classes. Student and teacher subjects were given tests for measuring authoritarianism and the two teachers who scored highest and lowest on authoritarianism were selected for further study. In addition, students' attitudes toward their teachers were assessed and measures of academic performance were obtained. Analysis of the data indicated that high and low achieving pupils performed better when taught by a teacher who had an authoritarian rating similar to that of the pupil. High authoritarian pupils achieved poorest under low authoritarian teachers. Low authoritarian pupils did not indicate a significant preference for low authoritarian scores.

Teachers' attitudes toward students expressed in interpersonal relationships were examined and the teacher's increased positive regard was found to correlate positively and significantly with pupil cognitive achievement in a study by Aspy and Roebuck (1972). In this study, 40 female elementary teachers provided one-hour audio tapes of their instruction with a reading class, selected segments of which were then evaluated by trained raters on dimensions of empathy, congruence, and positive regard, and with the Flanders' interaction categories. These same segments of tape were then evaluated for pupils' levels of cognitive functioning.

Smith and Kleine (1969) derived the construct dimensions used by teachers for differentiating between pupils in their classrooms. With the assistance of elementary classroom teachers, five constructs were identified as mutually exclusive categories: (1) intellectual dimensions indicating bright-dull and high-low; (2) motivational dimensions of hard-lazy, to capacity-not to potential; (3) personal-social dimensions of friendly-unfriendly, bold-timid; (4) task orientation dimensions of neat work-sloppy work, completes assignments-never does assignments; and (5) physical dimensions of male-female, tall-short. Following their assumption that different construct systems would lead to differences in teaching behaviors, three measures of teacher awareness were obtained: math awareness, psycho-motor awareness, and popularity awareness. Two measures of pupil sentiment were also obtained which were entitled Pupil Esteem and Pupil Endorsement. Correlations between the construct dimensions and the awareness measures were not statistically significant although they maintained a consistent and predicted relationship. Positive results arising from this study indicated that teachers who emphasize personal or social constructs were held in high esteem by pupils, while teachers emphasizing task-orientation dimensions were held in low esteem by their pupils. The investigators suggested that pupil sentiment may be affected by grade level and that further research along these lines is needed to derive the constructs pupils use for differentiating among teachers.

In addition to these reported studies, evidence exists throughout the studies reported in other sections that teachers differentiate between and among their pupils in accordance with their beliefs expressed as attitudes toward physical stereotypes, race and ethnic membership, social class membership, sex, intellectual ability, and personality.

Teacher Expectations and Pupil Performance

Teachers are necessarily concerned with the functions of exacting performance and products from their pupils in accordance with a planned educational curriculum. They are also concerned with evaluating the products and performances of pupils in accordance with educational goals, standards, and values prescribed by the educational system of which the teacher is a part. All of these functions are products of the Performing Self of the teacher, and as performance and product, they reflect the teacher's perception of Self, of the teaching role, and of others. Through this perceptive filter influenced by all the teacher's acquired standards and values, the Performing Self of the pupil is assessed and evaluated, and on the basis of the teacher's perception of pupil performance and products, expectations are formed by and for both pupil and teacher. The expectations formed represent a measure of perceptual accuracy and, as such, an investment of self-image. Expectations met are an affirmation of perceptual accuracy, whether the expected results have other positive or negative connotations for the developing self. Expectations unfulfilled require re-evaluation and re-association which may result in positive or negative changes in existing concepts of the self. When there is a critical amount of "self" investment in retaining the construct or set that underlies the predicted outcome, the lack of confirmation for an expected result is often met by either assuming some mitigating influences to be at work which make the results an exception, by refusing to accept the results as information to be used in altering the construct formation, or in some way devaluing the unexpected results. In other instances, the conditions leading to the unexpected conclusion are re-examined and new or previously unconsidered evidence is devised to account for the error in prediction, which can then be followed by a justification for and reaffirmation of the self's perceptual accuracy and the validity of existing self-constructs.

In addition to the possibility of adjusting the antecedent conditions retrospectively in order to accommodate and reinforce existing constructs, there is also the possibility that antecedent conditions may be influenced before the event to insure the expected outcomes. When the individual is an interacting participant in the event itself, he is in a position to influence proactively or responsively, the conditions preceding the expected outcome and may do so to insure the reinforcement of his pre-existing set of constructs. The exercise of this type of influence is commonly referred to as the "self-fulfilling prophecy," and the influence exerted may be totally unperceived by the perpetrator. There are indications that investigators and experimenters interacting with their subjects may be cueing them toward responses expected by the investigators, thus proving the hypotheses being tested or affirming the convictions of the investigators. Rosenthal (1969) reported that expectation influences are not limited to human subjects, but that rats are also influenced in their performance by the expectations of investigators even in laboratory conditions. In his reported study, a group of rats having no discernible differences were divided into two groups. One group was arbitrarily designated by the investigators as bred for fast maze learning, and the other group designated as bred for slow maze learning. The rats were then assigned to researchers who had been informed of the rats' supposed breeding for maze learning. Researchers who had been assigned the designated fast maze learners reported superior maze learning performances for their rats, while researchers with the designated slow rats found their rats inferior in maze learning performance. The criterion for fast maze learning is objective and absolute, disallowing for any subjective interpretation of performance scores. Since the animals and the maze conditions were ostensibly the same, the results indicated that the interaction between experimenter and animal was responsible for the difference in performance. This interpretation of the results relies upon the correctness of two assumptions: (1) that the two rat groups used in the research did, indeed, have the same maze learning abilities, and (2) that the two rat groups were given the same maze learning task to perform. The assumption of controlled conditions cannot be so securely made when research is conducted with human subjects who have been given learning tasks to perform in real classroom situations.

The hypothesis that teacher expectations can influence pupil performance on learning tasks is founded upon the premise that teachers' behaviors are a part of the antecedent conditions for predicting pupil performance. The teacher's expectations of pupil performance are reflections of the teacher's operating hypotheses with regard to the learning process, pupil characteristics, and the teacher's function in the learning situation. The hypothetical nature of expectations is reflected in the use of standards for antecedent conditions and for determining the effect of the results. _If_ certain primary conditions are met, _then_ certain characteristic results can be expected. The teacher is, at least theoretically, in a position to formulate an hypothesis in accordance with his beliefs, select standards for conditions and performances, and, as an interacting part of the conditions, to control or influence the performance of pupils and make the subsequent interpretation of results. The teacher is also in a position to limit pupil performances by controlling participation, opportunities for learning, attention to learning tasks, access to other information, and reinforcement of learning behaviors. The teacher is also in a position to increase pupil performance by expanding the positive condition to encourage pupil performance. It can be logically assumed that teachers' high expectations for pupil performance can only operate to increase performance when pupils' abilities can match the teacher's expectations. Pupils who perceive their teacher's expectations as too high or unrealistic may react with depressed performances and pupils who perceive the teacher's expectations as too low or unchallenging may respond with just enough effort to meet the low expectations, depressing their performance in response to feelings of personal devaluation. The teacher's actual ability to increase positive pupil performance by raised expectations depends upon the discrepancy between pupil performance and pupil ability, and on the teacher's ability to provide changes in learning conditions that will be perceived by the pupil and encourage the pupil to perform near or at the optimum level of his ability. In research situations where pupils are already performing close to the optimum level of their ability or where teachers are unable to alter their teaching behaviors to provide observable changes in learning conditions in accordance with changed expectations for pupils, it will be difficult to measure and interpret the effect of raised teacher expectancy upon pupil performance. The effect of teacher expectancy upon pupil performance might be more reliably tested and interpreted in research studies measuring the effects of lowered teacher expectations upon pupil performance. Such procedures would be ethically objectionable but might better reflect the prevailing role of teacher expectancies in the classroom.

In their widely read study, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) attributed increased IQ scores of pseudo-"late bloomers" to the effects of false information on teacher expectations and subsequent pupil performance. In this study randomly selected pupils from the first through 6th grade classes had been described to their teachers as "special" pupils who could be expected to blossom intellectually in the next few months. When posttest IQ scores were obtained at the end of the year those pupils who had been arbitrarily designated "late bloomers" showed a significant increase in their IQ scores when compared to other pupils. This study became the focus of a great deal of research attempting either to replicate or disprove the tested hypothesis that teacher expectations influenced the performance responses of their subjects. Claiborn (1969) examined the study and criticized the interpretations made by Rosenthal and Jacobson on the grounds that their data showed no teacher expectancy effects for 2/3rds of the grades used in their study, and that the conclusions drawn by Rosenthal and Jacobson were based upon difference scores that were not corrected for known pretest differences and were partially attributable to regression effects. It appeared to Claiborn that gain in IQ scores could be attributed solely to the increase in scores on the vocabulary subtest contributed by first grade subjects who had initially scored very low on the subtest, and thus could not be considered to be a demonstration of either teacher expectancy effect or an overall increase in pupil IQ. In his own research study Claiborn tested the hypothesis that teacher expectancy influenced pupil gain in IQ scores and also attempted to capture the teacher-pupil interaction in order to identify the teacher behaviors that might be related to teacher expectation. His study also included observer ratings of teachers' classroom interaction with "special" pupils, with interactions scored as positive, negative, or neutral in their effect on pupils. First grade classes from three suburban schools provided the teacher and pupil subjects. Within each school, the classes were randomly assigned to a Bias or No Bias experimental treatment condition (with the exception of one class). These classes were then assigned to a Rated or Not Rated condition by the school principal. Four or five pupils, approximating 20% of each class, were designated as special "potential bloomers" according to a proportional representation of the sex distribution in the class, and by random selection with sex groups. The "special" pupils were drawn from the upper and lower distributions of the pretest IQ scores. Classes in the Rated condition were observed in 20-minute sessions for two weeks on the pretest unit and seven school days for the posttest unit. The teacher's interaction with the special students was scored by the observers. Teachers in the Bias classes were given the test results and the names of the special pupils in their classes. Since class observation was continuous, teacher behavior was recorded both before and after the information was provided. The total research program was instituted about one month into the second semester and posttests were administered two months after program initiation. The results of this study did not support the teacher expectancy hypothesis nor did it capture significant differences in teacher behavior toward pupils as evidence that teachers were influenced by the information provided by the investigator. The investigator accepted the fact that teachers in the Bias condition were able to recall the names of children who had been designated "special" as evidence of an operating teacher bias. In the discussion of this study the author acknowledged that he had not replicated the conditions of the Rosenthal and Jacobson study in that this project began well into the second semester of the school year after teachers had had an opportunity to develop stable impressions of their pupils and that the duration of his study was only approximately two months,while the Rosenthal and Jacobson study covered a full school year. Claiborn's study also differed markedly in the method used for selecting special students. The importance of these differences is disclaimed by Claiborn on the basis that other studies have, in his opinion, demonstrated that teacher set toward pupil and timing or duration of the study are not critical factors in testing for expectancy effects. In our opinion, we can accept Claiborn's study as a test of the teacher expectancy hypothesis only if we accept the investigator's assumption that teacher recall of specific pupil names is sufficient evidence of an existing and operating teacher expectancy bias.

Meichenbaum, Bowers, and Ross (1969) were apparently successful in their efforts to bias teachers and their expectations. Four teachers were given biasing "potential for blooming" information on 6 of 14 adolescent female offenders enrolled in a special unit of a training school complex. Two groups of girls were matched in accordance with three obtained measures prior to the experimental treatment. The four teachers who staffed the unit rated each girl for her expected academic potential, her level of appropriate classroom behavior, and the amount of teacher attention received by each girl prior to the experimental period. The subjects were divided into two classes, five girls in Class I who worked at the remedial ninth-grade level and who devoted most of their time to academic subjects, and nine girls in Class II who also worked at the ninth-grade level, but devoted 20% of their time to commercial subjects, i.e., typing and business practices. The four teachers, three female and one male, taught both classes. These teachers were asked by a member of the school administration to evaluate the intellectual potential of the girls on a 7-point scale using the girls' previous examinations and classroom behaviors as a basis. In rating the subjects, the teachers were asked to compare them with other pupils of the training school rather than a "normal" population of ninth-grade girls. There was significant agreement in the four teachers' ratings of the girls. Measures of academic performance on objectively and subjectively scored tests were obtained one month before classroom observation of the subjects began. Teacher-pupil interactions had been recorded prior to the time teachers were given the biasing information, and after the biasing information was given, teacher-pupil interaction was again recorded for a period of five weeks. The girls' total classroom behavior was recorded for one week prior to the biasing information and for a total of one week after it had been given during the second and fifth weeks of the study, respectively. In order to reduce possible observer bias the observers were not informed of the purpose of the study and also were not informed that the teachers had been given biasing information. The school psychologist informed the teachers of the "potential for blooming" and in a communication to the teachers gave them a general description of the efficacy of the supposed "late bloomer" test for identifying subjects whose present performance did not indicate their actual potential. The school psychologist suggested that present and past performances might lead teachers to make erroneous estimates of "late bloomers'" actual academic potential. Approaching the subject casually as a matter of possible interest to the teachers, the school psychologist then identified the girls in the two classes who had been designated by the test as "potential bloomers." Six girls had been designated, three for whom the teachers had previously indicated high expectancy and three for whom these four teachers had indicated low expectancy. The names of the girls were arranged to reflect the four teachers' previous "potential" ratings of the girls in a sequence of 2-high, 2-low, 1-high, and 1-low in order to establish the teachers' confidence in the test. The investigators reported that the teachers were initially very surprised at the inclusion of the three low-potential subjects, but after discussing and relating to each other some past indications of possible potential, the teachers changed from surprise to an attitude of having held the suspicion all along that these three girls had academic potential. Analysis of the observational data revealed that these teachers altered their behavior toward the expectancy subjects differentially, however. Teachers 1 and 2 did not increase their overall interactions with the expectancy subjects, but did increase the positive content of their communications with them. Teacher 2 also increased the amount of positive interaction with all pupils who had been rated by the teachers as having potential. Teacher 4 did not increase the amount of positive interaction but did decrease the amount of negative interaction, particularly with the "potential" subjects who had received prior high expectancy ratings by the teachers. Teacher 3 significantly decreased the positive interaction with all "potential" subjects and increased the amount of positive interaction with the undesignated control pupils. The control pupils of teacher 3 showed significant improvement in academic and classroom behavior on the posttests. The overall results of this study indicated that teacher expectancy significantly influenced the academic and classroom behavior of the "potential" subjects (with the exception of teacher 3's subjects). The greatest gains were achieved by the subjects of teacher 4, who had decreased the amount of negative interaction with the teacher-rated high potential subjects. The teachers who increased the amount of positive interaction, but did not appreciably reduce their negative interactions improved the performances of their subject pupils, but not as significantly as teacher 4. It was particularly interesting to note that the indicated gains in academic achievement were obtained from objectively scored tests, but no gains were indicated on the subjectively scored examinations. The significant improvement in performance occurred in both the prior high-rated and low-rated subjects. In the light of other research on the effects of decreased negative feedback, e.g. Crandall, Good, and Crandall (1964), we can speculate that, for these girls already labeled as juvenile offenders, the decrease in negative interaction with an adult may have been of more value to them than adult praise and may have provided more psychological safety for self-extension and more affirmation of their performing selves.

The quality of teacher interaction was also investigated by Rubovits and Maehr (1971), using six classifications of teacher behavior: (1) attention, evidenced through requests for pupil statements and attending to spontaneous pupil statements; (2) encouragement; (3) elaboration; (4) ignoring; (5) praise; and (6) criticism. The subjects of the study were 26 student teachers and 104 sixth- and seventh-grade pupils randomly selected from a middle school in a large midwestern city. Measures of teacher-pupil interaction were scored by observers during a micro-teaching session with four pupils. Prior to the teaching experience, measures of dogmatism were obtained for the student teachers and each teacher was then rated as having high or low levels of dogmatism along a median split. The student teachers used lesson plan outlines provided by the investigators for the micro-sessions, and just before the lesson period each teacher was given a seating chart of her pupils. This chart included the names of the pupils, an IQ score for each pupil, and a label indicating that the pupil was from the "gifted" or average, non-gifted track. Teachers were instructed to pay attention to the IQ score and label while directing the pupil to his seat. Observers who recorded 40 minutes of teacher-pupil interaction did not know any of the information given on the seating charts. The results of this study indicated that significantly more statements were requested of "gifted" pupils across all teachers and that the statements of "gifted" students were praised significantly more than statements from other pupils by all teachers. No differences were found for the four remaining categories of teacher behavior or for the level of dogmatism.

The possibilities for further research suggested by this study were investigated in another study by Rubovitz and Maehr (1973). The sample for this study included 66 white female student teachers and 264 seventh- and eighth-grade pupils randomly selected within ability groups from three junior high schools in a midwest city. The teachers were given a prepared lesson plan to present in a micro-teaching situation. Four students were provided for each teacher, two white and two black. These pupils had been randomly selected from within the same ability groups and had been artibrarily designated by the investigator as gifted or non-gifted, one of each for each racial group. Teachers were again given ratings for High and Low levels of Dogmatism and the same procedures for emphasizing the IQ score and the labeling of each subject were employed as in the previous study. The same categories for teacher behavior observation were also used.

The results of this study indicated significant differences in teacher behaviors on dimensions of race and dogmatism as well as giftedness and non-giftedness. Again teachers showed no difference in the amount of attention, but did show differences in the quality of attention shown gifted and non-gifted pupils. Gifted pupils were called on more and criticized more, but the increase in criticism was based on the interactions with gifted black students. Gifted white students were called on, praised, and criticized more than non-gifted, and in subsequent interviews with the student teachers, white gifted students were most often named as the most liked, the brightest, and the most probable leaders of their class. Across all teachers, black students were given less attention, ignored more, praised less, and criticized more than the white pupils, but even more importantly, the black gifted pupil received more negative attention than his non-gifted counterpart. Since all pupils, both black and white, had been selected from the same ability group, these teachers' behaviors were not predicated on actual performance differences. The investigators suggested that a possible observer bias may have intruded since observers who did not know which students were labeled gifted or non-gifted could easily tell which pupils were white and which were black. However, it was further noted that, if observers had been biased in reporting behaviors toward black pupils, the pattern of interaction indicating that High Dogmatic teachers were more inclined toward prejudiced behavior with blacks than Low Dogmatic teachers would have been obscured by rater bias. The investigators suggested that the lack of teaching experience and the lack of experience in interacting with black students may have contributed to the student teachers' differential treatment of black pupils as well as a possible racial prejudice. Nevertheless, the race by category of teacher behaviors analysis indicated that teachers interacted more positively with the non-gifted black than with the gifted black subject, and this might well be interpreted as an indication that blacks who did not fit prejudiced racial stereotypes were least accepted by these student teachers.

Fleming and Anttonen (1971) included dimensions of sex and socioeconomic status and measures of teacher attitudes toward standardized tests in their study designed to examine the effects of teacher expectancy on pupil performance. The study was conducted with 39 classrooms of second-grade pupils and their teachers, located in a large urban area of the midwest. Twenty-one of the participating classrooms had a high poverty index and 18 classrooms had a low poverty index. Four treatment conditions were established within each classroom. At the beginning of the school term, teachers were given the test results from the standard IQ test regularly administered by the city school system for one-fourth of their pupils. The results of a mental abilities test were given for another fourth of each class, and IQ scores inflated by 16 points were given for another fourth of each class. The teacher received no IQ or test information on the remaining fourth of the class. The participating teachers were told that the purpose of the research project was to evaluate the usefulness of various kinds of intelligence test information to teachers and were asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their attitudes toward standardized tests. They were also asked to supply other information on their background characteristics. No further contact was made with the teachers until the end of the school year when an IQ test was administered to all the pupils and teachers were asked again to complete a shortened form of the attitude questionnaire. They were also asked to restate the purpose of the research project and to rate the accuracy of the test information given for each pupil at the beginning of the school term in relation to perceived pupil performance for the year. In their responses, teachers identified the inflated IQ information as the least accurate information. The posttests indicated no significant differences in IQ score gain between the four information condition groups, and comparison of posttest IQ scores with those of non-participating second-grade pupil scores showed that gains from pre- to posttest for the experimental sample were comparable with the standard scores for second-grade pupils in that school district. The authors reported that, while treatment conditions did not indicate significant effects, the teacher opinion dimension by itself and interacting with the socioeconomic level of pupils did show significant differences. However, the disproportionality of the distribution of teacher opinion by socioeconomic status and the small teacher sample limited the interpretation of these findings to a suggestion that these dimensions should be investigated further.

From our point of view, there is again a question as to whether supplying information should be construed as creating a teacher expectancy set. It is further a question whether or not supplying three types of test information and asking the teacher to compare the usefulness of these three tests would not force the teacher to a more objective evaluation of test information and result in a bias against test information. The fact that investigators found a significant interaction between teacher attitude toward test information, pupil sex, and pupil socioeconomic status suggests that these teachers may have had an operating hypothesis or expectancy based on particular pupil characteristics unrelated to the test information.

Another study that failed to find support for altering teacher expectations by supplying information was reported by Haberman (1970). One hundred and twenty student teachers were randomly assigned to four treatments prior to their student teaching experiences. Student teachers in Group I were told that they had been assigned to one of the "finest" teachers in the state. Members of Group II were not told anything, but the cooperating teachers to whom they were assigned were informed by a letter and a follow-up phone call that they were getting a student teacher with very high teaching potential. Students in Group III were told that they were getting an exceptionally fine cooperating teacher, and the cooperating teachers for this group were informed that they were getting exceptionally good student teachers. Group IV and their cooperating teachers were told nothing about each other. The data obtained from the study indicated that there were no signficant differences in the ratings of cooperating teachers given by student teachers across all groups,and no difference in the ratings given student teachers by cooperating teachers on the basis of any of the information provided. The author suggested that these findings show that teachers' perceptions are not as readily influenced by information as may be popularly believed.

Fielder, Cohen, and Feeney (1971) attempted to replicate the findings of the Rosenthal and Jacobson study with 796 subjects from 36 classes in three schools in the Southwest. Two of the schools had a large number of Mexican-American students and were receiving government funds. The third school was predominantly middle-class and was used as a control for social class and minority group membership. Teachers were again given a roster of randomly selected names indicating pupils who were "expected" to make accelerated gains for the semester. Here the replication study varies from the model in that the fall semester was used in the original study and this study took place in the spring semester after teachers had already had one full semester in which to observe and work with the subjects. This study also failed to support the findings of the Rosenthal and Jacobson study. The authors noted that they had no way of ascertaining whether or not teachers in this study ever communicated or acted upon their supposed "expectancies," since no observation of teacher behavior or other measures were obtained.

Palardy (1969) identified an existing expectancy among 63 first-grade teachers in a midwest city. Teachers were asked to report their beliefs about first-grade boys' abilities for learning to read. The 42 teachers who responded to the questionnaire were divided into three groups. Group A consisted of teachers who indicated that they believed boys learned to read at an equal pace with girls. Group B consisted of teachers who believed boys were considerably slower in learning to read, and Group C consisted of teachers who indicated that they believed boys were somewhat slower. For purposes of the research, Group C was dropped and comparisons were made between the two extreme groups. The pre-reading test administered to the pupils of both groups indicated that there were no differences between them. The results of the posttest, however, indicated that both groups of teachers were able to support their beliefs. Boys of Group B scored significantly lower than the other subjects indicating that when first-grade teachers believed boys would be less successful in learning to read than girls, the boys did indeed achieve at a lower level, but when teachers believed that boys and girls would be equally successful in learning to read, they were.

Chaikin, Sigler, and Derlega (1974) examined videotapes of 42 undergraduate "tutors," using equal numbers of males and females, as each tutor interacted with pupils who had been described to the tutor before the interaction as being either bright or dull. The videotaping was done without the subject's knowledge and scored for non-verbal communications that might indicate the tutor's like or dislike of the pupil. The subjects were also asked to rate the "bright," "dull," and control pupils following the tutoring period. The tutors exhibited a different pattern of nonverbal behaviors with the bright pupil described as leaning toward the pupil, eye contact, and affirmative head nods and smiles. No differences were found in the patterns of behavior exhibited by tutors toward the low expectancy or no expectancy (control) pupils. On their verbal reports the subjects did not indicate a special liking for the bright pupil, and no differences in preference for any of the three types of pupils were found on the tutors' verbal reports. Kester and Letchworth (1972) also reported that teachers who were given information to lead them to higher expectations for specific average ability pupils showed an increase in positive interaction with these pupils, although no significant gains occurred in the pupils' achievement.

In a study cited in detail later in this book, Rist (1970) reported the differential behavior exhibited toward pupils by a kindergarten teacher in a ghetto area. The investigator reported that the teacher placed the children in ability groups that reflected the social class membership of the pupils. The teacher seated the high ability group closest to the teacher, and the low ability groups on the periphery of the class area. The pattern of interaction showed more contact, as well as more positive contact with the high ability group, and negative, ignoring, and rejecting behavior that increasingly characterized the nature of the interactions in accordance with the lower social and more distant position of the low ability pupils. This pattern of placement by ability persisted after the pupils left this class and persisted through the early elementary school experiences of these pupils. The investigator concluded that the way the teacher behaved toward the different groups influenced the pupils' achievements, an indication that there was not only a self-fulfilling prophecy at work, but also a self-perpetuating prophecy.

Good (1970) reported that teachers consistently gave high achievers more opportunity to speak in the classroom, and Brophy and Good (1970) reported that within their study, boys received more direct questions from the teacher than girls and were more often praised for giving correct answers. Boys also appeared to have more interactions with the teacher during this study and to receive more criticism as well.

Most of the teacher-expectancy studies we have examined reflect the investigators' general assumption that teachers have a value bias in favor of high IQ scores that is also assumed to operate to the exclusion of other teacher values in determining teacher behavior. However, the studies that have reported success in biasing teacher behavior by supplying IQ information have been successful under the following conditions: (1) Teachers were supplied with IQ information early in the first semester of the school year, before they had had an opportunity to make their own assessments, as in the Rosenthal and Jacobson study; (2) Student-teachers or tutors were given the biasing IQ information immediately prior to their teaching or tutoring experience, again without either an experienced background in assessing pupils or the opportunity to assess pupil performance for themselves as in the Rubovitz and Maehr studies and the Chaikin, Sigler, and Derlega study; and (3) Teachers were given IQ information along with reinforcement of its validity by a personally known and trusted school psychologist as in the Meichenbaum, Bowers, and Ross study. Under these conditions it appears to us that these investigators were able to demonstrate that these teachers were biased in favor of high IQ scores and that this bias was operating to influence the teacher's differential behaviors toward the subject pupils. The teacher behaviors observed and documented in all of these studies (with the exception of the Rosenthal and Jacobson study) indicate that the teacher's demonstrated bias did distort the teacher's perception of the pupil, the pupil's performance, and the teacher's interpretation of the pupil's role in the classroom. While it is true that studies of teacher behavior in the classroom have demonstrated rather consistently that teachers exhibit a favorable bias toward high-achievers in their classrooms, this behavioral data has demonstrated a positive correlation between pupil performance and positive teacher behavior. Since not all high achievers have high IQ's and not all pupils with high IQ's are high-achievers, this behavioral data does not clearly demonstrate a teacher bias in favor of high IQ scores unrelated to pupil achievement.

The Rubovitz and Maehr (1973) study, the Palardy study, and the Rist study also suggest circumstances in which other teacher biases can be seen to override a presumed teacher bias favoring high IQ scores, or even highly-achieving pupils. The Rubovitz and Maehr study found that black pupils who had been designated as high IQ pupils received the least and most negative attention from their student teacher. The Palardy study demonstrated a teacher bias based upon sex without reference to pupil IQ, and the Rist study demonstrated a socioeconomic bias that persisted in the presence of both high IQ information and pupils' high-achieving performances.

We have theorized that teacher self-concept plays a determining role in the teacher's perception and performance of the teaching task. We have further theorized that the teacher's values, attitudes, and beliefs are the source for perceptual distortions that affect the teacher's performance of the two roles through which teachers can affect the self-concept development of their pupils, i.e., as salient or significant others who reflect the developing selves of pupils, and as controllers of classroom environment where the pupil's role in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom is interpreted and where the psychological experiences from which the pupil develops his concept of self are largely determined by teacher behavior.

Studies of teacher self-concept in relation to the effect of teacher behavior on pupils indicate that positive, realistic self-concepts and reasonable self-confidence in teachers have shown a positive correlation with those teacher behaviors believed to foster positive self-concepts in pupils and with those teacher behaviors thought to foster pupil autonomy and acceptance of pupils. Studies of teachers' values, attitudes, and beliefs, which include those inherent in teacher expectations,demonstrate that teachers are influenced by their perception of individual pupils and behave differently toward different pupils, thus varying the nature of the psychological experiences of individual pupils in the same classroom. Pupils who reinforce the teacher's value system and who give positive reflections of the teacher's Performing Self receive a positive reflection of their Performing Selves in return. The studies reported here offer substantial support, in our opinion, for the hypothesis that teacher self-concept and teacher perception colored by the teacher's values, attitudes, and beliefs directly affect the teacher's performance as a significant or salient other and as a controller of classroom environment.

With the exception of classroom observation studies designed to identify differential teacher behavior toward pupils with specific characteristics, most research to date has investigated teacher self-concept and teacher behavior in relation to measures of effectiveness. Effectiveness is defined as the ability to produce positive changes in pupil performance and levels of achievement. While we continue to search for those teacher behaviors and teacher characteristics that enhance the teacher's performance as a significant other and controller of classroom environment, we might also pursue the identification of teacher behaviors that impair the teacher's performance in these two roles so that this information can be used in teacher pre-service and in-service training programs.

The research on teacher behavior reflects one of the most persistent of commonly held beliefs in our society--the belief that teachers have the ability to influence the character development of their pupils. For most members of our society, personal memories provide sufficient support for continuing this belief, but teachers should not continue to be charged with such a heavy responsibility if this belief is unfounded in fact, and pupils should not continue to be subjected to arbitrary teacher influence if this belief is indeed founded in fact. In spite of the obstacles and existing limitations still to be overcome in this area, we believe that research to date offers substantial evidence that teachers, through their behavior, have a potent impact upon the developing self-concept, and therefore character, of their pupils, and that this reality carries with it a responsibility to further research this relationship and to implement the knowledge made available by research.

Chapter III References

Introduction

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CHAPTER IV

The Bodily Self

Teachers' behaviors and pupils' self-concept development related to pupil sex, size, age, attractiveness, ethnicity, socio-economic status and the psychological factors of anxiety, aggression, dependency, security.

The sense of the bodily self, or self-continuance and awareness of self as a physical entity is generally described as deriving initially from the physiological functions of sensing and recording. Sullivan (1953) has called this process the experiencing of one's own body, the first step in perception that begins the process of differentiating the bodily self from its environment. In the process of experiencing itself, the body, in terms of social-psychological theory, performs the feedback functions of the significant other and the environmental functions of offering opportunity for experiences of exploration and limitation. The sense of the bodily self that emerges from the experiencing of self forms the basis of self-awareness that will remain with us the rest of our lives, even as the body itself experiences changes through growth and development, aging, traumatizing, sickness and health. As the process of differentiating self from environment continues, the sources for the sense of self extend to significant others outside of the bodily self and to the environment existing outside of self. When the sources for the sense of self have been extended to the externalized other and externalized environment, the emerging sense of self becomes aware not only of its own feelings but of feelings about the self, an awareness of the response to one's self. It is from the responses to one's self that basic attitudes of trust -- trust in the worth of self, trust in others and trust in the environment -- or mistrust are developed (Erikson, 1963).

The response of the emerging self to the attitudinal feedback from significant others and the environment, especially if those attitudes conveyed are consistent in content, are described by psychologists as resulting in general states of feeling -- feelings of security, insecurity, comfort, anxiety, competence, dependence, frustration and satisfaction. What becomes observable to others are the coping behaviors of the self that express one or even several of these states. These coping behaviors are described as aggressive, passive, attention seeking, withdrawing, exhibiting independence or dependence, but, although the self may exhibit one of these behaviors more consistently and dominantly than others, most individuals will express all of these coping behaviors at one time or another. One difficulty in researching self-concept development is the problem of distinguishing between those behaviors and responses reflecting the general state of the self and those behaviors that are merely responses to immediate and specific stimuli. Through observable coping behaviors, the self is seen to begin, or at least attempt to control and manipulate the primary sources of the psychological experiences from which the concepts of self derive, the significant other and the environment. Jersild (1960) has described this process as the discovery of self as performer.

There are several physical characteristics of the body that may evoke attitudinal responses from significant others and from the environment and which may then have an effective and affective impact on the formation of self-concept. These characteristics which might be termed the "givens" are sex, size, body build, race, physical attractiveness, defects or anomolies, and age. Along with these characteristics, we have included four others which might be considered as "givens" for the child before he is able to exercise any decisive control over maintaining or changing them -- his ethnicity, grooming, general health, and socio-economic status.

This category, drawing upon the work of psychologists and social psychologists, contains variables from the physical state and psychological variables which reflect both states and behaviors attributed to (but not limited to) the early stages of self-concept formation. The body and the bodily self-concept continue to change while remaining, through the existence of the individual, fundamental contributors to the emerging global self-concept.

When a child enters school, he has an operating concept of his bodily self formed by the reflections of parental others and his familial environment. He may have also developed characteristic responses and coping behaviors that might be considered indicative of his feelings of trust or mistrust. If the teacher performs a dual function as a source for self-concept formation, does, or perhaps we should ask, can the teacher affect the bodily self-concept of the child or in any way alter his state of trust or mistrust? Do the teacher's behaviorally expressed attitudes toward the physical attributes of a child or toward his particular characteristic behavior affect the self-concept development of the child? Since the body is constantly changing and developing, should it be assumed that the opportunity for impact on the bodily self-concept is always present? Should the teacher anticipate that the role of significant other may diminish as the age of the pupil increases, or that it may be diminished by pupil race, or sex, or environmental influences? Are there specific teacher behaviors, or clusters of behaviors, that significantly relate to the variables in this category, either negatively or positively?

Teacher Behavior and Change in Pupil Self-Concept

There is research evidence that the pupil's sense of Bodily Self is subject to change through teacher behavior. Ludwig and Maehr (1967) tested two hypotheses related to self-concept development: (1) self-concept change is a function of the reaction of significant others, and (2) change in self-concept results in changes in preference and choice To test these two hypotheses, 65 junior high school students of comparable socio-economic background but diverse physical capacity and skill were asked to perform various physical tasks in the presence of a physical development expert. Prior to the performance, all of the subjects had responded to three instruments at the beginning of the study. One instrument asked the subject to rate his physical adequacy on items related to body coordination, motor skills, general athletic ability and general physical fitness. A second instrument was used to assess general self-esteem and a third asked the subject to rate his preferences for physical or non-physical activity. Each subject individually performed physical tasks for a physical development expert who then gave the subject a pre-set positive or negative evaluation of his performance. Following the performance, both control and experimental subjects were retested and were then given follow-up tests one week and three weeks later. Analysis of the data showed distinct changes in the self ratings of the treatment group. Subjects who received approval for their performance showed an increase in positive self ratings which diminished over time to the pretest level, and subjects who received disapproval showed a decrease in self ratings which also diminished over time. On the preference measures, approval treatment subjects showed an increase in preference for the activities related to the treatment, and disapproved subjects showed a decrease in preference for the physical activities. The significant difference found in

the test results of the two treatment groups and the controls satisfactorily supported the hypotheses tested, and, in the opinion of these investigators, the evidence of change in reported preferences provides a basis for inferring that change in self-concept is accompanied by change in the direction of behavior.

Cole, Oetting and Miskimins (1969) investigated the effectiveness of a group treatment program in producing self-concept changes in a sample of 22 female adolescents who had behavioral problems. The ten-week program focused on physical appearance and social behavior changes under the direction of appropriate female models. The experimental subjects were divided into two treatment groups, one led by professional counselors, the other by volunteer lay people. Pre- and posttest measures of self-concept indicated that all experimental subjects changed more positively and consistently in their reported self-concepts than the control group, who were representative of a "normal" adolescent female population.

The Ludwig and Maehr study had a sample limited to adolescent boys, and the Cole, et al., study was limited to adolescent girls with behavior problems, which limits the generalizability of the findings of these two studies. It does appear, however, that individuals functioning in roles fulfilled by teachers in day-to-day school situations were able to demonstrate a measurable effect on the self-perceptions of the subject populations.

Teacher Expectation, Pupil Body Build and Appearance

Our society is not one that takes the body and bodily appearances lightly. Our cultural aspirations for the body beautiful include growing straight and tall, being the "right" weight for height, developing the right muscles, hair condition, dental arrangement, looks, smells, or absences of the latter two if deemed either unsightly or offensive. We are admonished to have our clothes clean beyond the ultimate index, such as cleaner than clean and whiter than white, and we are always assured that certain looks really do count if we are to have any entry into even mundane society. Anyone with ambition or desire for success in our culture knows that making a good first impression starts with the body and its adornments. Does the teacher disregard the social milieu and suspend all responses to the stimuli of pupils' body height, shape, size, attractiveness, cleanliness, or physical habits?

The evidence of popular and professional publications is that the teacher certainly does not suspend responses to physical or body stimuli in the classroom. The evidence from disciplines such as social-psychology, child development, personality theory, and relevant research is equally assuring that the body image and people's response to the body form an important part of the self-concept of the child, with particular emphasis on the period of adolescence. But the majority of reported teacher responses to pupils' physical characteristics are generally anecdotal rather than research based, and the research studies from the other disciplines are focused on the development or acquisition of self-concept rather than a direct investigation of the relationship between teacher behavior and pupil body-concept.

Our search has produced only three studies directly related to teacher behavior and pupils' physical attributes. None of these studies included a measure of pupil self-concept development or pupil perception of teacher response to their physical characteristics.

Does direct cueing from physical stimuli influence teacher interaction with pupils during the first few days of school? Adams and Cohen (1974) found that there was an interaction between pupil facial attractiveness, and the frequency and type of teacher contact with pupils. Kindergarten and fourth grade pupils who were rated below average in facial attractiveness by their teachers received more supportive and neutral contact than those pupils rated as above average. Adams suggested that these teachers, in recognition of our cultural stereotype of attractiveness, may have been giving compensatory attention to those children who were perceived as less attractive and therefore less adequate. This interaction was not observed for the seventh grade subjects. On the basis of this one study, however, we cannot view these teachers' compensatory behaviors as a general practice. There are several limitations restricting the generalizability of this finding. The extent of variance was not reported for the sample teachers' ratings, although dichotomized categories of above and below average facial attractiveness were established from a median split of each teacher's ratings. The study was seriously biased by sample and size (only three female teachers and 49 Upper Middle Class Male subjects in a private school setting). As the experimenter indicated in this study, other uncontrolled factors may have been operating to produce the reported results.

Clifford (1975) found that teachers reported higher expectations for attractive pupils on variables relating to academic achievement such as I.Q., future education, and the amount of interest parents would show in a pupil's achievement. However, the study also indicated that teachers agree only moderately in their judgments of pupil attractiveness, and, although they may be initially influenced by first impressions of physical attractiveness, the initial impression does not necessarily contribute to their predictions for pupils long-term academic success.

The third study, conducted in a preschool setting, investigated the degree to which teachers' perceptions of pupil behavior correlated with behavioral stereotypes for Sheldon's body type classifications (Walker, 1962). After the teachers of this study had classified their students' behaviors on dimensions drawn from Sheldon's behavioral stereotypes, the teachers were asked to rate photographs of the pupils according to Sheldon's three body types, employing his rating system which allows for a mix of types. The experimenters had also classified the pupils' photographs according to Sheldon's types and had predicted behaviors for each pupil in accordance with Sheldon's behavioral stereotypes. The coefficients of reliability obtained for the judges' ratings of body types for the three major groups (i.e., endomorphic, mesomorphic and ectomorphic), as well as those from subsamples of children rated at more than one age, were within the range of .70 to .90.

Of the 292 predictions made for the three body types, 73% of these predictions were confirmed in direction, 21% were confirmed beyond the .05 level and 3% were disconfirmed beyond the .05 level. The success of predictions was heavily influenced by sex with over 33% of the predictions made for boys and less than 10% of the predictions made for girls significantly confirmed. There were also differences in prediction success related to the three body types. For boys classified as mesomorphic, almost half of the predictions were significantly confirmed, as were the predictions for boys classified as ectomorphic. Predictions for those pupils classified as endomorphic met with little better than chance success for the girls and a little less than chance success for the boys.

The investigators of this study offered several general conclusions. (1) With specific reference to this preschool group, an important relationship was found between body type and behavior characteristics. The related body types and behaviors had considerable similarity to those relationships found by Sheldon with a college age group of males, although it did not replicate the strength found by Sheldon. (2) The authors found that the physique-behavior relationship has multiple determinants. Certain physical factors, e.g., large or small size, strength, energy, and sensory thresholds, influence the selection of behavioral modes such as aggressive or passive behaviors which are reinforced by success in interpersonal relationships. These factors are also influenced by the evaluations and expectations others may have which are based upon the physique of the individual under observation. In effect, then, a boy who is large for his age, with considerable strength and energy and a tolerance for physical contact, might solve his interpersonal problems and characterize his relationships with aggressive behavior. If this approach works for him, he will continue to affect this behavior unless someone with expectations or values accompanied with the power to impress seeks to alter such behavior. (3) Other factors which are described as "possibly innate" and factors which might be described as rising from cultural patterns also appear to influence physique-behavior. This is illustrated by the finding that mesomorphic girls channel their energies into social activities while mesomorphic boys enter into more physical, gross-motor activity. (4) The young age of the subjects suggests that the behaviors exhibited are more the results of physical factors and direct learning than reputation or social variables which appear to play an important role at later ages.

In conclusion, the author stated that "in particular, variations in physical energy, in bodily effectiveness for assertive or dominating behavior and in bodily senstivity appear as important mediating links between physique structure and general behavior."

A more specific role for bodily self-concept was investigated in a study of pupils who had phantom handicaps (Keeve, 1967). These pupils had, at one time, suffered trauma or had been correctly or falsely diagnosed as having a chronic disability which had resulted in their being excused from physical education classes. The investigator examined the past documentation and the present physical condition of selected subjects and found that they were, in reality, no longer handicapped but were perpetrating "phantom" handicaps. By continuing to excuse these pupils from physical education classes, the school administration sanctioned and supported the false body-concept of these pupils. It was the author's concern that the school was, in this manner, reinforcing a maladaptive mechanism which could perpetuate an inappropriate response to stress into the adult lives of these subjects. However, the author did acknowledge that the school system may accede to the desires of a pupil's parents and therefore would not risk a conflict with them over the presumed handicap of their child.

The bodily self-concept of the school-aged child has been developed and fostered by the reflections of familial attitudes toward handicaps, illness and health. Teachers find that handicaps and illness, real or fancied, are persistent aspects of the classroom. The teacher faced with a child who has one or a host of allergies may also be faced with internal conflicts. The teacher may not "believe" in allergies and may refuse to acknowledge the restrictions and restraints requested or may make exaggerated responses emphasizing compliance with the requests, neither of which attitudes will reflect a positive self-image for the child. Or, a teacher may overemphathize and rely on the child's handicap to meet the teacher's need for a nurturing image. What is perhaps most important is that pupils have limited experience and knowledge of illness, or physical disabilities and handicaps, and the attitudes of teachers toward pupils become sources of credibility (e.g., there is or is not such a thing as an allergy) and models of behavior toward handicapped children. The child who perceives a teacher's attitude toward handicapped children as negative may be as affected as well as the handicapped child if he fears a loss of self-esteem through an illness or accident. Children who perceive handicapped children as recipients of special attention and special valuing may imitate illness and trauma in order to obtain special treatment.

The apparent lack of research in this area of teacher behavior and pupil self-concept derived through body image might, under other circumstances, leave us with nothing to discuss. The studies reported are only related to one side of the total picture to be investigated, but they do offer possibilities for further research.

Adams' hypothesis that teachers' initial contacts and interactions with pupils are influenced by physical attributes of pupils rather than interpersonal characteristics, such as disruptive behavior or verbal fluency, might offer a good deal more information with a larger and more varied sample. And, there are additional questions to be asked, such as: (1) Does the pupil perceive the teacher's initial (first days) contacts as related to the pupil's bodily appearance? (2) Does the pupil perceive continued interaction with the teacher to be related to the pupil's physical appearance? (3) Do teachers base their interactions with particular pupils more frequently on physical rather than interpersonal attributes, i.e., will a teacher's interaction with a tall boy or girl be dominated by that characteristic of the pupil? (4) Do any particular teacher behaviors alter or reinforce body concepts of pupils? (5) Are children influenced to alter their physical appearance by teacher modeling behavior? (6) Do significant numbers of pupils base their concepts of an "ideal" body image on particular teachers, i.e., physical education instructors, or on parents and other models, such as sports heroes (or heroines)? (7) Is the importance of the teacher as a physical model related to age or socio-economic status of the pupil?

The Walker study, while designed to further investigate Sheldon's physique-associated behavior categories, did indicate that teachers who acted as behavior raters in this study reported more variability in the range of behaviors for boys. The study also indicated that successful predictions of behaviors associated with physique were largely determined by sex, and more particularly, the male sex. This would seem to suggest that Sheldon's classifications are perhaps not as much physique-based as male physique- and behavior-based, although the judges of body types did not seem to encounter any difficulty applying the categories to females. However, the investigator reported that there were problems with attaining interjudge reliability for the mesomorphic classifications of both males and females. Since the same scales were used to rate both males and females, it can safely be said that the raters did not observe as much variance in female behavior in the categories provided by these scales. The apparent "channeling" of behaviors for the mesomorphic boys into more physical, gross-motor activities and of mesomorphic girls into social behaviors at these early ages might bear further investigation. For example, do parents and teachers stress different channels of behavior in accordance with the child's body type? Does self-concept development relate to Sheldon's body types? Do teacher behaviors affect the self-concept development differently for the three classifications of body types? Do the suggested mediating links, i.e., physical energy, bodily effectiveness for assertive or dominating behavior, and bodily sensitivity, function as predictors of body self-concept development and do teacher behaviors tend to modify the influence of these mediators?

The physical body has a decisive effect on both the quality and quantity of an individual's life by providing conditions for experiences and conditions which are reflected back to the individual in the process of self-concept development. Teachers are constantly reflecting a body image to each pupil, at times directly and at other times, indirectly. Short pupils who spend considerably more of their school life in front rows, tall pupils called upon to reach top shelves, hold up maps for all to see, decorate high bulletin boards, and pin up class work displays get the message over and over. Heavy set girls who play the grandmother while tall girls play the mother in dramatizations, and heavy boys who are asked to carry equipment know how others perceive their bodies. The attractive boys and girls who are chosen to represent their classmates or unattractive boys and girls who struggle for a little of the attention their more attractive friends get without apparent effort know the advantages and disadvantages of their bodily selves, and may come to rely upon or resent their body image.

Wolfgang and Wolfgang (1968) examined the responses of 120 future teachers to five different types of physical handicaps and found that the responses formed three groups: (1) temporary, i.e., broken arm, (2) permanent-uncontrollable, i.e., amputation, club foot, and, (3) perceived by responder as controllable, i.e., obesity, bad teeth. From measures of social distance and recordings of verbal comments, the investigators reported that the verbal reactions to the handicapped stimuli were discrepant with the subjects' non-verbal distancing behaviors. Four times as many statements concerning sympathy or offers of help were given compared to statements expressing rejection. Yet, the subjects indicated social distance in direct relation to the three types of handicaps. Subjects placed themselves closest to temporary handicaps, then to permanent-uncontrollable handicaps, and farthest from what they perceived to be a handicap which was within the individual's control. This study was made with subjects who were in training to become physical education instructors, physical therapists and special education teachers. A control group of subjects from 27 other fields were used for comparisons. Hypothesized differences in the responses of the three sample groups were not supported by the data.

The non-verbal communication implied in seating choice of students was reported by Walberg (1969) using a sample of 486 boys and 331 girls randomly selected from a larger sample of classes involved in an experimental high school physics curriculum. On the basis of a total of 54 significant associations for boys and 43 for girls (derived from separate analyses), the author concluded that there were non-accidental associations between seating position and self-reported personality characteristics of pupils, as measured by a biographical inventory instrument. Five groups were profiled by seating preference, briefly described as (1) Up Front: idea-oriented, strivers, not overly dependent, zealous and affiliative; (2) Anywhere: idea-oriented, sufficiently striving but not zealous, similar to Up Front group but not as extreme; (3) Back of Class: unhappy with school, thing-oriented rather than idea, not affiliated; (4) Windows: dislike school, non-affiliative; and (5) Wherever Friends are Sitting: high affiliation, people-oriented but not academic success-oriented. The author comments on the relationships teachers can infer consciously (and sometimes unconsciously) between physical characteristics of pupils such as seating choice, dress, posture, pallor, and pupil dialation and the psychological attitudes of pupils that can help the teacher better understand his pupils. The investigator suggests that pupils may react to similar signals from the teacher rather than to the teacher's verablized communications. An awareness of these physical factors may help both teachers and pupils perceive how the other feels.

Teachers may empathetically try to help pupils compensate for an obvious physical defect, or they may also fall victim to their own feelings and let a child's grooming or cleanliness determine how often and how near a pupil may approach his teacher or touch the teacher's possessions. Without intent, teachers can communicate unacceptability to a child by not allowing him to sit in the front row of school pictures or by curtailing his handling of school property and his sharing with other children.

The verbal behaviors of teachers are equally important in the formation of bodily self-concept. Teachers who refer to a child's continual clumsiness or lack of coordination, or who express preferences for particular physical characteristics are contributing to the self-concept of pupils, sometimes positively, sometimes negatively. The use of language in self-concept development will be considered in the chapter on self-identity, but its importance in bodily self-concept development should not be overlooked.

The classroom and playground abound with the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat for pupils in the process of self-concept development and particularly in the development of body-concept. Playgrounds and classroom are supervised by adults and shared with peers who participate in each pupils' process of body-concept development, as significant others or as members of the environment. Educators have made physical hygiene and the development of psychomotor skills a part of the educational goals, but how these goals, the environment, and teacher behaviors affect the self- and body-concept development in pupils are still largely unanswered questions.

Teacher Behavior and Sex of Pupil

The conditions under which each person begins life have varying degrees of long-term influence on self-concept development, but the most prescriptive condition acquired at birth is sex classification.

Physiologically, the sex of an individual may be more truly represented as a two-dimensional characteristic combining degrees of masculinity and femininity. However, in the societal milieu, sex is considered an either/or condition. The designated sex label carries with it a host of sex-linked, value-weighted prescriptions for all subsequent behaviors which include not only the behavior of the individual but also the attitudes of others toward the individual. Even those behaviors which are considered to be appropriate for both sexes are defined and understood in exactly those terms -- appropriate for both sexes. Since sex-typing and behavior valuing are products of specific cultures, and in societies where sub-cultures are maintained, sex-appropriate behaviors will not be generalizable within that society. References to "traditional sex roles" in our society refer to a dichotomy of male and female roles in which the roles emphasized for the female are those of homemaker, wife and mother, and the emphasis on the role of father, and incidental emphasis on the role of husband. Certain behavioral characteristics are also traditionally assigned to males and females. Males are characterized as dominant and aggressive, while females are characterized as submissive and passive. Actual sex roles and sex-appropriate behaviors, however, are not determined by global descriptors but are defined by culture, class, and age group membership. Having sex roles and behaviors based in culture and class does provide for a certain amount of flexibility with which to meet pressing societal needs, but it also contributes to cultural conflicts and individual confusion.

As institutional representations of traditional middle class values, schools have come under increasing criticism. Generation gaps and culture/class conflicts appear between teachers, parents, and public administrators, and become focused on the definition of sex roles, attitudes toward sex, and sex-appropriate behaviors. Parents, school boards, pupils, and teachers all agitate over sex discrimination in curriculum content and activity restrictions, as well as dress and behavior codes, all of which reflect the less than universal understanding of sex roles and appropriate sex behaviors.

Concerns for the self-concept development of girls are currently concentrated on sex role bias in curriculum content and curriculum channeling identified as practices which limit the development of females as contributors to the cognitive life of the society. Concerns for the self-concept development of boys have concentrated on the apparent "feminization" of their early environment through the concentration of child rearing and teaching in the hands of females. It has been suggested that under the present circumstances, young males are deprived of male models necessary for proper acquisition of the male role. The school environment is assailed as "feminine," requiring conforming, submissive, and passive behaviors far more in keeping with traditional female than male behavior. The assumption is, of course, that male teachers would not exact the same behaviors from their pupils. But these "feminine" behaviors could be more aptly characterized as pupil behaviors teachers value in the teaching-learning situation quite apart from their sex-appropriate designation. Even more telling is the fact that the behaviors usually described as "feminine" in the school setting (conformity, silence, obedience) are the very behaviors exalted by the armed services as those which "make a man out of you" during basic training. Perhaps we are really dealing with sex-biased attitudes toward women as authority figures, a presumed "masculine" prerogative.

From a review of the research literature, Lahaderne (1975) concluded that the evidence does not support the belief that male and female elementary teachers differ markedly in their treatment of pupils on the basis of sex group membership. Lahaderne reported that male and female teachers in the studies reviewed did not differ significantly in their perceptions and treatments of male and female pupils, and, in the few cases where treatment was varied, the evidence suggested that women may discriminate less than men with regard to pupil characteristics of sex and socio-economic status. The author's conclusion, based upon the examination of current research, was that both male and female teachers responded to the social norms that impinge upon the classroom, and to the demands of the teaching situation. The role of teacher or pupil sex appears to be irrelevant in meeting the dominant demands of the classroom.

What is of genuine concern to all of us is that the schooling experience eoncompasses the years in which children mature into young men and women. A positive self-concept as an individual is vitally important for each boy and girl, and the effect of teacher behaviors and teacher controlled environments on the self-concept development of pupils in these important years deserves our concern and concentration.

Although it is almost common practice for researchers to add sex as a variable in all studies of school related behaviors and to report any findings of sex-related differences, there is a paucity of studies that actually address the question of teacher affect on the self-concept development of pupils with regard to pupil sex and pupil attitudes toward sex.

The studies reported here appear to lend considerable support for the general assumption that girls are more culturally accommodated by school environments and are more positively perceived by their teachers. Meyer and Thompson (1956) reported that children perceived a difference in the way teachers treated boys and girls. The children noted that teachers expressed greater approval of girls and greater disapproval of boys. In Jackson and Lahaderne's study (1967), it was observed that boys received eight to ten times as many prohibitory control messages as their girl classmates. They also noted that when teachers criticized the boys, they were more likely to use harsher and angrier tones than when criticizing a girl for the same or equivalent misbehavior. Sears and Feldman (1966) suggested that additional praise and disapproval interaction with boys may result in increased independence and autonomous behavior on their part. This interpretation does raise a question which is discussed more thoroughly in the section devoted to Locus of Control studies. The question concerns the possibility that exhibiting more independent and autonomous behavior may also result in receiving more teacher attention, more praise and more disapproval.

McNeil (1964) investigated the relationship between teacher behavior and subsequent reading performance of boys and girls. The pupils in this study began reading instruction by auto-instructors that gave identical presentation and equal reinforcement to both boys and girls. Tests of reading readiness given at the end of auto-instruction indicated a slight superiority in performance for the male subjects. These same pupils then moved into classroom situations where they were taught reading by female teachers for one year. At the end of the year, the boys evidenced a significant lowering of performance in comparison with their female peers. Results of further investigation in which pupils were asked to respond to questions relating to their perception of classroom interaction, and teachers were asked to rate the reading readiness and motivations of each pupil, suggested that the teachers treated boys and girls differently in that boys received more negative comment and were given fewer opportunities to perform in their reading groups. It was the author's conclusion that an association existed between teacher behavior and pupil performance in beginning reading.

Davis and Slobodian (1967) did not find support for the hypothesis that female teachers discriminate against boys and favor girls in first grade reading instruction in their study involving ten first grade teachers and their pupils. However, Palardy (1969) found that when teachers expressed a belief in girls' superior ability to acquire reading skills, the male pupils in these teachers' reading classes achieved at a lower level.

There was a time when pupils entered public school buildings through doors marked "Boys" and "Girls." The labeled doors are no longer in physical evidence, but it is quite apparent that the school experience remains an experience of sex-related differentiation. Contrary to a rather common opinion that the classroom, particularly the primary and elementary classroom, is the realm of the female teacher intent on feminizing the masculine population, the research evidence indicates that the classroom and its teachers are devotees of middle-class standards for sex-appropriate behaviors and middle-class values of sex roles, utilizing the controlling teacher behaviors valued by both middle- and lower-class parents, principals and school boards. There is a possibility that the reinforcement of these class-oriented behaviors and roles might be adversely affecting the learning of boys and girls and might be incidentally curtailing and truncating the development of potential in both boys and girls. But, the possibility that teacher behaviors might be affecting the development, either positively or negatively, of the self-concepts of future men and women is a possibility that must be thoroughly investigated and the outcomes thoroughly documented before we can anticipate a change in teacher behaviors that could increase their positive affect on pupil self-concept.

Teacher Expectations and Pupil Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status

Our societal self-image is one of people who love and care for children. Childhood should be happy and carefree, and each child should pass through his childhood years with a good start in life, so we say. Our ideals for children are perfect; it's the realities of children's lives that can stand improvement. The forces we have marshalled for improving the lives of our children are generally unleashed in our classrooms. We have depended upon education to elevate the lower socio-economic classes, to enlighten the ethnic groups in the American way of life, to correct racial attitudes and destroy racial prejudice, and to compensate for the bad start some children get in life by giving them skills and knowledge with which to make their place in our society. What we have discovered, of course, is that education does not stand above our society but is very much part and parcel of the system it hopes to improve.

Our society produces the pupils, the teachers, the conditions into which they were born and the conditions under which they learn and teach. Our society is also the environment in which the psychological experiences necessary for self-concept development occur. It is fortunate that our educational system does afford some opportunity for withdrawing from the greater society to allow the smaller society of the classroom to create an environment that preserves the ideals of our society and urges young people to achieve its still unrealized goals. Schools could provide experiential learning in democratic processes as well as planned opportunities for the development of positive self-concepts in children. It could and it should, but the realization of a better learning environment rests in great part with the teacher. How do teacher behaviors relate to the self-concept development of pupils and the ideals of a democratic society with respect to the pupils' race, ethnicity and socio-economic status?

The studies reported in this section are united more by theory than purpose. None of these studies have directly addressed the relationship between teacher behaviors and the self-concept development of pupils with regard to pupil race, ethnicity or socio-economic status. Several of these studies, however, do examine the role of the teacher as a reflector through two relevant teacher behaviors, perception and expectation, related to the topic variables of ethnicity and socio-economic status.

Other studies report pupils' perceptions and, in some cases, their response to teacher behaviors which project pupil "self" image. The remaining studies give research findings on pupil self-concept related to the three variables and additional findings which provide further insights and information on this topic which may be useful to educators and researchers.

Rist (1970) did an observational and longitudinal study of a kindergarten teacher and her 30 pupils in an all black, urban setting. He found that the "permanent" seating assignments made on the eighth day of school placed pupils at three tables in accordance with the social class of the pupils, although the teacher had indicated that her intent was to place the pupils according to their ability to "learn." The occupants of Table I were from families of higher income, higher levels of education, fewer siblings and also had both parents present in the home. These children were better dressed, neater, cleaner, and conversed and interacted more easily with the teacher in what the investigator described as "Standard American English," in contrast with the black dialect spoken by children at the other two tables. In short, children at Table I possessed middle-class characteristics similar to those of the teacher. As the school year progressed, children at Table I interacted considerably more frequently with the teacher, received more positive responses from her, and more privileges. Subject content presentations were made directly to Table I, while

Tables II and III were characterized by the teacher as "not having any idea what was going on in the classroom." At the end of the school year, the children were given an I.Q. test. Scores from the test indicated that some children from Tables II and III actually scored higher than some children at Table I. However, when the pupils moved on to the first grade, they retained the same "ability" grouping assigned them on the eighth day of their kindergarten experience. The same ability grouping, now reinforced by performance records, accompanied the pupils into the second grade. The investigator concluded from observing the teacher-pupil interactions that the experiences and opportunities to learn functioned as reinforcers of the original grouping and resulted in a "self-fulfilling prophecy" based upon the kindergarten teacher's perception and classification of these pupils. This was a study of one teacher and her pupils from which we can make no generalizations. We can, however, look at the factors operating and examine them further.

Teacher expectation of pupil performance was investigated in another study by Mazer (1971), who gave 157 teachers from various backgrounds and teaching situations photographs of pupils with descriptions of their socio-economic status attached and asked them to estimate the performance level for each pupil on a five-point scale covering 12 variables. The photographs of male and female, black and white pupils were switched among the SES descriptions without changing any of the SES facts supplied. The results indicated that the socio-economic status of the pupil was the differentiating factor for expected pupil performance, rather than sex or race. Differences in teacher backgrounds or experience were not found to contribute to the results.

In another study, however, indications were that teacher's perception of pupils was influenced by race. Rubovitz and Maehr (1973) manipulated "gifted" and "not gifted" student labels and added a race factor. In addition, they used a level of dogmatism measure for the teachers. Results of this study indicated that white gifted pupils received more attention than white non-gifted pupils. Black pupils, both the gifted and non-gifted, received less attention than the white pupils. In their teacher contacts they received the least praise but the most criticism. In this latter group, the gifted black pupils received the least attention and, in the attention given them, they received the least praise and the most criticism of all sub-groups.

The remaining research is concerned with the differential responses of pupils to teacher behaviors. A study by St. John (1971) indicated a difference in the response of black pupils to certain teacher characteristics measured on Ryans' Characteristics of Teachers Scale (1960) from that of white pupils. White pupils' scores on a measure of conduct correlated positively with "child oriented" teaching behaviors; school attendance scores correlated negatively with the teacher characteristic "fair." For the black pupils, positive correlations were found with a pupil measure "teacher likes me" and a teacher measure "child oriented;" the pupil measure "conduct" correlated positively with teacher measure "fair," and a reading achievement measure also correlated positively with the "child oriented" scale for teachers. The author concluded that growth was positive for black pupils when teachers possessed characteristics of kindliness, adaptability, and optimism. Kleinfeld (1972) investigated the relative importance of parents and teachers in the formation of black and white students' academic self-concepts. The parents and teachers of black and white pupils were asked to give their estimation of the pupil's academic abilities. Pupils were asked to give self-reports on their own academic ability. White students strongly reflected the ratings received from their parents, while black students related more strongly to the teacher's estimate of their ability. In fact, black females' scores correlated significantly with those of the teacher rather than to parental estimates. The suggestion was made by the investigator that teachers could be trained to be more supportive in helping black pupils develop better evaluations of their academic ability. A study by Steward and Steward (1973) examined the teaching and skill preparations given by mothers to their three-year-old sons in a sample representing seven ethnic groups. These mothers were videotaped while teaching their children and the interactions filmed were then coded using multiple variables of total time, input, and pacing, and teaching variables of alertness, format, child response, and feedback. The results of this study indicated that ethnicity was the single best predictor of (1) child response and (2) maternal teaching style. The authors commented that the children in this study experienced different home learning environments which may have resulted in different skills and expectations being brought by them into the classroom. It may be the misfortune of pupils from our many ethnic groups that the skills and learning prized in the home environment are not those valued or used in our classrooms, which creates a break in the home to school continuum for the pupil.

Zirkel and Moses (1971) did an investigative study to determine if differences existed in the self-concepts of black, Puerto Rican, and white elementary pupils, and to examine the extent to which differences were influenced by the minority or majority position of each of these groups within a single school system. The results of his study revealed interesting trends but were without statistical significance. In general, he reported that black students tended to have higher self-concepts measured on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1959) than white students. Puerto Rican students scored lowest on the scale and particularly when they were in schools having a white majority. Both black and white students had lower self-concept scores when they comprised a majority of the student body. In another study reported by Trowbridge (1972), similar investigations were made to determine if a measurable difference in self-concept existed between children of different SES status (middle or lower class) and on which dimensions such differences occurred. Compared with middle class subjects, lower SES children had higher self-concept scores in general and tended to feel more sure of themselves, more able to take care of themselves, to make up their own minds, and make worthwhile contributions. They reported themselves as being generally happy and not bothered. Middle-class pupils reported an ability to adjust to new things, self-understanding, and felt they were not easily upset by scolding. In peer referenced scales, the lower SES pupils rated themselves higher on individualistic indices, while the middle-class pupils showed more social characteristics. In school referenced items, the middle-class pupil reported that he was not doing "the best I can," while his lower SES peer perceived himself more positively in the eyes of his teacher and the school situation. In the discussion, the investigator suggested that low SES pupils may have lower aspirations and therefore attain more satisfaction with their performance. It was also suggested that the low SES pupils did not blame themselves for their bad school experiences. The middle-class pupils may, on the other hand, have reported themselves as not "doing my best" since, if they actually were doing their best and the teacher didn't think it was good enough, it would damage the pupil's self-concept. As the authors commented, under such circumstances, it is safer for pupils to say they didn't do their best. On items that referenced parents and home, the middle-class pupil was more positive and had higher ratings with the exception of the item "feeling pushed."

The study done by Richmond and Weiner (1973) is perhaps tangential to this area of self-concept, but the interesting differences in the behavior of black pupils and white pupils when they are in group situations make it worth mentioning in this context. The study was designed to examine the influence of ethnic grouping, grade, sex, and nature of reward conditions on the cooperative and competitive behavior of children. The results indicated that, whereas individual reward produced more competition overall, cooperation was affected by both age and ethnic grouping. When cooperation increased the reward for all participants, the black-black group had the shortest problem solution time, indicating the most cooperative behavior; the black-white group was next, and the white-white group was the slowest. The black-white group was neither as cooperative as the black-black on task performance nor as competitive as the white-white. First graders were slightly less cooperative in group reward conditions and slightly more cooperative under individual reward conditions than second grade pupils. The older pupils with more educational experience became less skilled at employing cooperative measures to achieve goals.

Most of the research undertaken in school situations concerns itself with the impact of teachers on the academic achievement of pupils rather than the impact of teacher behaviors on the self-concept of pupils. There is, however, a growing realization that the process of learning also affects pupil self-concept. Children arriving in the classroom have a self-concept developed in the home and parental environment and have only experienced the teaching behaviors of their mothers and other significant models in their environment. When they arrive in the classroom, then, the teacher is faced with pupils having several different learning styles which incorporate the values and the beliefs already internalized by his pupils. At the same time, pupils are confronted with a teacher who also has certain values and beliefs and who has developed a certain teaching style. We have seen two areas of possible conflict in these studies, (1) the area of values and beliefs represented by both teacher and pupil which may directly affect their perceptions of each other on the basis of race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status, and (2) the area of learning and teaching styles which may again be determined by the backgrounds of teachers and pupils. The results of these studies emphasize the problems of interpretation when we attempt to measure and compare the self-concepts of pupils from different social backgrounds. The fact that pupils from lower socio-economic groups can register a higher self-concept than those who are considered to be culturally "advantaged" is an example of the kind of situation-specific reporting and measuring of self-constructs that need theoretical frameworks to aid in the interpretation of results. It is quite possible that a pupil with a certain background could report a positive self-concept when the measures used tap the reference system of the pupil's general or overall self-concept. But the items referencing the academic self-concept may tap an area in which the pupil does not feel as adequate and, therefore, reports a less positive self-concept. The academic self-concept represents a concept of self related only to one aspect of self and may or may not influence the general concept of self. This research also seems to indicate that the role of the teacher as a significant other should vary to accommodate changes in the continuum from home to school and from parent to teacher experienced by pupils of other than middle class backgrounds. For those pupils whose parents do not concern themselves with the values and standards for academic achievement, the teacher should be aware of the importance of his role as a significant or salient other.

Research has not provided a basis for assuming that any one teacher behavior has the same predictable effect on every pupil's general self-concept or academic self-concept. But, this reported research does indicate that there is a proper place in educational research for studies investigating the relationship between teacher behaviors and the self-concepts of pupils using race, ethnicity and socioeconomic status as dependent variables correlated with a measure of pupil reported self-concept which references the pupils' general state and, along with this, a measure specifically referenced to the academic self-concept.

The general statement that our schools reflect middle-class values and middle-class goals has a basis in fact. Teachers who perceive middle-class pupils as having more academic potential are no doubt dealing with a perceived reality. It is the teacher behavior which ensues from this perception that must be examined for its affect on the self-concept development of all potential learners.

Teacher Controlled Environment and Pupil Self-Concept

Like all growing things, mankind is capable of adapting to an environment as long as basic survival needs are met. Unlike other growing things, mankind is also capable of controlling and manipulating the environment, adapting it to his needs and purposes. In our society, the classroom is the most controlled environment adapted to the needs of our society and manipulated for the purpose of shaping and nurturing societal growth. It is the educational system, the policy making bodies, the administrators, and ultimately the classroom teacher who must turn societal ideals and philosophies into the desired product by effective processes. However, in a democratic and diverse society such as ours, statements purporting to describe institutional goals and processes function like the big-top tent of a circus -- they form a unifying cover for the rings of diverse interests and the individual acts going on within them. When we relate the teacher-controlled environment to the self-concept development of pupils, we are looking at a ring in which many individual acts are occurring.

The institutional function of the school environment is to provide an arena containing opportunities for the acquisition of societally valued beliefs, skills and tools. The ultimate product desired is a useful, contributing, and participating citizen of the society. But the clarity of the stated purpose masks the conflicts of interpretation and disagreement over the means used to achieve the desired ends. To some parents and educators, the proper process is one of imprinting the correct academic knowledge and skills and implanting the correct values and beliefs upon groups of pupils in appropriately modulated steps. For others, the proper process unit is the individual pupil whose imprinting and implanting treatments are referenced and modulated according to his progress and achievement. In either case, the pupil is the product, and the process is one of continual pupil alteration and change. In every case, it is the pupil who must survive and adapt in the system on an individual basis, whatever the approach.

For those pupils whose preschool environments contain values and expectations similar to those of the school environment, entry into the educational system does not have the same potential for traumatizing and disorienting psychological experiences as it has for pupils who are truly transplanted. But even continuity of the continuum from home to school does not insure the individual pupil against psychological stress and strain, or the anxieties inherent in the press of change. Entry into the system may be a crisis experience for some pupils, but the continuing process of education may be a source for chronic anxiety as well.

We have previously alluded to Erikson's theory that the early self-concept of the individual is characterized by two states, a state of trust derived from psychological experiences of acceptance and positive reflection, and a state of mistrust derived from psychological experiences of rejection and negative or inconsistent reflections of the self. These two states are based on beliefs about the self and values for the self that are then expressed as attitudes toward the self, toward others and toward the environment. But, to be truly representative of the state of self-concept, these attitudes must be consistent over time and persistent in behavioral expression. Problems in determining the state of an individual's self-concept arise from the limited forms of physical expression that must be interpreted, as well as language and culture constraints that color interpretations. The behaviors through which the self-concept are expressed are not related to the state of self on a one-to-one basis. A state of anxiety may be expressed by aggressive, passive, dependent or withdrawing behaviors, and anxiety related to specific situations and stimuli may be expressed with equal behavioral variety. For these reasons, it is the patterns of behavior established by the individual over time that make the most reliable indices of a pupil's self-concept and reflects the degree of success or failure the individual pupil has had in psychologically surviving and adapting in the school environment.

To achieve their professional goals and meet the societal responsibilities placed upon them, teachers are required to control and manipulate the classroom environment to create and foster the learning and socialization of their pupils. No teacher just teaches reading, or mathematics, or music, or any other academic subject. Even those school districts purportedly returning to the simple fundamental approach to education by stressing the basic three "R's" are concerned that the environment also teach respect of authority, obedience to rules and regulations, and responsibility to selected societal norms and personal honesty. Whether these affective objectives are described as virtues or values, the teacher's obligation to control and manipulate the environment to help pupils achieve both cognitive and affective objectives remains.

How the individual pupil adapts to the environment depends upon the state of his developing self-concept, the nature of the psychological experiences provided by the environment, and the concomitant reflection of self received from his environment and his significant others. Children who experience a significant change in environment may be benefitted or harmed by the change, but it can be comfortably assumed that, in either case, a child will experience some stress period simply due to change. On the basis of psychological theory, it is also assumed that the adaptive behaviors and/or coping styles will be primarily initiated to maintain the equilibrium of the "self" and will be maintained and reinforced by their success in dealing with new situations. Adaptive behaviors and/or coping styles that do not function in new situations but which still operate successfully in other important environments may impede the acquisition of more adaptive behaviors. In this hypothetical situation, a pupil from a low socio-economic environment for whom conflict is characteristically a physical threat requiring a physical coping style may in a middle-class school environment be confronted with a new experience of conflict with which he cannot cope, while a pupil of middle-class status who has learned to cope with conflict by using language and ideas rather than physical behaviors has already acquired the coping behaviors that are approved in the new environment.

Limited investigations of children's experiences in the school environment were made by Wolfson and Jackson (1970) and Berk (1971).

In the initial investigation of a three-part study, Wolfson and Jackson observed 97 nursery school pupils limiting the observation to events which could be interpreted as having an intrusive impact on the intended behavior of the child. The observed events were classified into seven categories describing the child's intent (desire), and the intrusive source, with one additional "catch-all" category for unclassified events. The observed pupils averaged six incidents of recorded events per child every 30 minutes. The first two categories representing a child's desire conflicting with another child's desire, and a child's desire conflicting with a teacher demand accounted for 75% of the recorded events. The second study examined the out-of-school environment and found that the same two categories (substituting adult for teacher) accounted for the majority out-of-school events with only slightly less frequency. In the third study, an analysis of the data showed that children with a high frequency of incidents maintained their classification in both environments indicating that the frequency of encounters had an individual basis. In their summary of these studies, the authors pointed out that even for children of low incident frequency (two incidents per 30 minutes), the cumulative total would result in about 2,000 such conflict encounters for a nursery school child in one school year. Although the Wolfson and Jackson study did not examine the effect of these encounters on the child's developing self-concept, they did speculate that the consistent response styles exhibited by pupils in these encounters would contribute to his "social reputation" and thus influence his relationships with his peers and with his teachers. Berk's study (1971) utilized the event categories of the Wolfson and Jackson study but redefined the event unit as a "conflict environmental force unit" in order to accommodate other negatively toned responses. The consequent response behaviors of pupils were categorized into four major Modes of Adaptation: (I) Unresponsive-Withdrawing, (II) Dependent-Compliant, (III) Thoughtful-Persistent, (IV) Offensive-Combative, and a fifth category of Other as non-classifiable responses. In this study, Berk found significant differences related to socio-economic status and sex of pupil as well as some general findings that are of interest. Middle-class children did make far more verbal responses in conflict situations than lower-class children ($\underline{p} < .01$). Lower-class pupils made more physical attack responses to conflict situations ($\underline{p} < .02$). But, there was no significant difference in the ratio of verbal response to number of conflict environmental force units between the two SES groups. As a group, boys had more Desire vs. Teacher expectation (Category 2 of Wolfson and Jackson) encounters measured by frequency and percentage of all encounters ($\underline{p} < .01$). Boys had a greater number of conflict encounters in general than girls. Although the author had hypothesized that girls would respond to conflict more frequently in the Dependence-Compliance Mode, boys actually had a greater percent of Dependent-Compliant adaptations than girls ($p < .01$) and were not more Offensive-Combative than girls. On a measure of high-frequency of encounter, children with high frequencies had more Desire vs. Teacher expectation encounters than children of low frequencies. Children in the low frequency category encountered more Desire vs. Ability conflict situations. Children in the high-frequency encounter group also were more openly reactive, responding more often with Offensive-Combative adaptation. Low-frequency scorers responded more often with persistent and withdrawing adaptive modes.

As a source of psychological experiences affecting the development of self-concept, the environmental continuum of home and school is sufficiently recognized but insufficiently researched. The research done by Wolfson and Jackson on the frequency of conflict situations in the environment of a child, and the subsequent research by Berk on the adaptive modes used by children in coping with conflict situations have provided a basis for continued research and additional questions to be addressed to this topic.

The subjects of the Wolfson and Jackson study were three- and four-year-old children about equally divided by sex, who were enrolled in a university-attached nursery school. The investigators did not include socio-economic status as background information and, therefore, could not report any comparative findings in this area. They did, however, report that no age or sex differences were found in this sample with regard to (1) frequency of event, (2) dominating categories of events, and (3) the individual stability of encounter frequencies. Berk's study included socio-economic status as a variable and with a broader age range in the sample (two years eight months to five years six months) reported differences in adaptive modes by SES, sex and age of the subjects. The frequency and category of event distribution reported in Wolfson and Jackson's study were generally confirmed by Berk, but the findings may have been influenced by the limitation of the original construction of categories.

Although the reported findings of these studies are not generalizable, the nature of the information obtained from these limited studies does emphasize the importance of the environment as a source of psychological experiences and reflections of the developing self. It also serves to further the argument that the nature of the experiences in the school environment is strongly influenced by the interaction of pupil age, sex, and socio-economic status with the environment and that, therefore, these variables are contributing factors to the concept of self developed by the pupil.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Anxiety

Research dealing with pupil anxiety is generally concerned with the effects of anxiety on learning processes, and in the same vein, research concerning teacher behavior and pupil anxiety has concentrated on identifying teacher behaviors that increase or decrease pupil anxiety for the ultimate purpose of improving the academic performance of pupils. The relationship between the research reported in this section and the self-concept development of pupils rests on the concept that the pupil receives a positive or negative reflection of himself in the school environment based in part on his academic performance. The impact of academic reflection will depend upon the pupil's immediate state of self, his values, and the needs of the developing self-concept. Pupils who are relying upon the environment or upon the teacher as a significant other for affirmation of the self are, theoretically, under more stress in the school environment. These pupils will, therefore, manifest more state anxiety and will respond with more intensity to threatening cues within the environment. For pupils whose self-concept is sufficiently positive and developmentally less reliant upon either the environment or the teacher as a significant other, threatening cues from the environment could result in raising anxiety to a level sufficient for dealing with the present threat, and may be interpreted as having a motivational impact for better performance. A curvilinear relationship can be posited between the effects of anxiety and performance in that a balanced ratio of anxiety level to degree of threat may produce a higher level of performance while an imbalance between anxiety level and degree of threat may result in reduced and impaired performances.

Most of the studies investigating teacher behaviors and pupil anxiety rely upon Flanders' (1966) constructs of Direct and Indirect Teacher Behaviors for defining clusters of behaviors considered relevant to pupil anxiety. Among Direct behaviors are "lecturing," "giving directions" and "criticizing or justifying authority." Indirect behaviors include "accepts pupil feeling," "praises or encourages," "accepts or uses ideas of students" and "asks questions." Direct behaviors are essentially those with which the teacher controls and manages the events and interactions in the classroom, with the emphasis on teacher-centeredness and task orientation. Indirect behaviors are often characterized as pupil-centered with an emphasis on discussion, discovery, and democratic decision-making processes. The classroom teacher should be able to make appropriate use of both Direct and Indirect teaching behaviors. A ratio is used in the Flanders system to indicate whether Direct or Indirect teacher behavior is characteristic of a teacher's general teaching style.

Duffey and Martin (1973) investigated the interactive effects of Direct and Indirect teaching behaviors with states of student trait-anxiety during an academic learning task. The results reported from this study indicated no significant main effects for trait anxiety or teacher influence, but the anxiety-by-teacher-influence interaction was significant ($\underline{p} < .01$). The investigators concluded that the highly insecure trait-anxiety subject who is sensitive to threatening conditions will perform better under indirect teacher influence than pupils with low trait-anxiety. It was also suggested by the author that in the absence of any actual measure of anxiety levels aroused by the test conditions, further research would be necessary to support his speculation that a curvilinear relationship exists between performance and anxiety as proposed by Malmo (1966). Research using more subjects and a wider range of anxiety levels and performance levels might demonstrate the relationship.

A study by Webb (1971) identified three groups of pupils as (1) insecure, (2) having school problems and (3) problem free. After identification, the pupils were grouped by academic ability and taught by two alternating teachers in each course area. The teachers had been rated on a scale representing sensitivity to pupils on a most-to-least continuum. The results indicated that teachers of low sensitivity had the greatest negative impact on pupils of low average ability. The anxious, insecure students and the pupils with school problems were significantly more negative on educational measures when taught by low sensitivity teachers. Insecure pupils appeared to be more affected by teacher low sensitivity than pupils with school-based problems. The problem free pupils did not respond with any significant difference to either high or low sensitivity teachers, but in general, the self-reports of these pupils indicated improved attitudes toward school, teachers and academic subjects when placed with a sensitive teacher.

Soar (1968) examined the possibility that there may be an optimal level of teacher indirectness and criticism that will vary by subject matter. He reported that, although both high and low anxious pupils improved and advanced under indirect teaching styles, high anxious pupils showed less increase under direct teaching than low anxious pupils. The question of optimal levels of anxiety for performances in different projects remained unresolved.

Using Flanders' system of observation, Zimmerman (1970) investigated the relationship between teacher rewarding and controlling behaviors and student school anxiety. He found that the frequency of controlling behaviors was significantly related to student school anxiety. Zimmerman suggested that his study held strong implications for teachers and their need to be aware of the effect of their rewarding and controlling behaviors on the students. He suggested that a systematic approach toward improving the positive reinforcement behaviors of teachers be undertaken.

The idea that the general anxiety level of teachers may influence the test anxiety level of their pupils was investigated by Doyal and Forsyth (1973). The correlation between the test anxiety of female pupils and their female teachers' manifest anxiety was highly significant in this particular study. The results also suggested that a teacher's manifest anxiety had a general influence on his pupils' test-anxiety levels. In the light of the strong relationship demonstrated between female pupils' test-anxiety and female teachers' manifest anxiety, the investigators suggested that further research be done to examine the effect of male teachers' manifest anxiety on pupil test-anxiety, as well as the relationship between opposite sexed pupils and teachers on measures of anxiety.

Teacher Behaviors and Pupil Dependency

Pupils will, of their own accord, exhibit varying degrees of dependent behavior in the classroom. Pupils who need constant reassurance for their performances, who need and want strong teacher supervision and support are considered to be "dependency-prone."

In a study by Flanders, Anderson, and Amidon (1961), the authors stated that the most significant factor in assessing the incidence of dependent behavior within a classroom was the pattern of control used by the teacher. Teachers who exert more control than the "average" teacher exact dependent and compliant behavior from their pupils. The purpose of this study was to develop an instrument to measure dependency-proneness in pupils and to report the findings of related studies applying measures of dependency, as well as the results of the developed test. Anderson (1960) had reported that high dependent prone pupils preferred a less directive teacher compared to lower scoring students, and that girls preferred less directive teachers in comparison with boys' preferences. The investigators reported that their instrument identified pupils who respond differently to teacher control methods and could be helpful in providing control for studies of various teaching methods. The investigators suggested that there may be a relationship between dependency-proneness and creativity in that high dependency responses may be geared to approval rather than to pupil expression of creativity. It might also be hypothesized that teachers who are more controlling and more exacting of dependent behavior may aversely affect the creativity of their pupils.

The interactions of dependent behavior with parental response was studied by Osofsky and O'Connell (1972) who reported that when five-year-old girls exhibited dependent behaviors, their mothers and fathers increased both verbal and physical interactions with them and displayed more controlling behavior toward them. This study might suggest further investigation of the relationship between the supportive, "parenting" teacher and the behavior of dependency-prone pupils and their effect in eliciting dependency supporting behaviors from teachers. The study reported that mothers were more often inclined to encourage the efforts of their children while fathers more often helped them perform the assigned task. These two forms of attending behavior might be indicative of a teacher's dependency supportive behaviors in the classroom.

The relationship between indirect teacher behavior and elementary pupils' changes in attitude and their academic gains as reported by Soar, and in the Duffey and Martin (1973) and Webb (1971) studies using junior high school pupils were not replicated in a study by Mason (1970) with high school juniors and seniors. Mason offers several possible conditions that may have contributed to his failure to replicate: (1) the relationship between the quality of teacher-student interpersonal relations and teaching style may decrease as student age increases, (2) high school students do not remain with one teacher as long as elementary students do and consequently come to expect different behavior from different teachers, and (3) the difference in academic climate of high school and elementary school leads to a different quality in the relationship between pupil and teacher. The investigator suggests further pursuit of this relationship using academic subject areas rather than total school experience as the data source.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Aggressive Behavior

None of the studies reported in this section have been conducted in school settings. However, the aggressive behaviors examined are often exhibited in school settings by pupils. These studies investigated conditions that appeared to encourage or discourage aggressive child behavior and may provide information useful to teachers in their efforts to create positive classroom climates.

Studies by Hicks (1965), Madsen (1968), Dubanoski and Parton (1971) all reported the effects of observed aggressive behavior on subsequent imitative aggressive behavior by children, and particularly by boys. Aggressive behaviors modeled by adults seem to cue children to increase aggressive behaviors and to extend the limits for their own aggressive behavior.

Siegal and Kohn (1959) found that adult behavior had two important effects on the aggressive behavior of children. When an adult is present, children appear to release the responsibility for their behavior to the adult and permit the adult to mediate their behavior, setting and maintaining the limits. In the absence of adult supervision, children tended to implement their own limitations of aggressive behavior. The amount of time it takes children to implement limitations on aggressive behavior is considered to be a function of maturity. This research study identifies one role that adult control can play in encouraging or discouraging aggressive behavior, and also suggests that pupils should be given opportunities to exercise their self-control.

Adjustment and Developmental Problems and Programs

Cowen, Dorr, Izzo, Madonia and Trost (1971) report a series of studies initiated in 1958 in which they developed methods for early identification of pupils with adjustment problems and began programs aimed at early secondary prevention. Pupils entering the first grade of the experimental school were screened for possible school dysfunction problems. Approximately 30% of the entering pupils were identified for the preventive program and were given additional help and attention from housewife aides who had been trained for six weeks to work directly with the children under the supervision of the school psychologist. A full-time school psychologist and a school social worker had been hired for the program. The authors reported that pupils with potential school dysfunction can be detected early in their school career and that teachers and aides rated the program effective in reducing pupils' acting out, under-socialization behaviors and learning disability problems. In a previous report of this study, Cowen, Zax, Izzo and Trost (1966) reported that identified experimental pupils were rated as better adjusted by teachers, had obtained lower scores on measures of pupil anxiety and lying, had achieved higher on a standardized test, had been referred less to the school nurse, and had received better grades than the identified control students. The authors commented that by the end of the third school year it was quite clear that pupils with early identifiable emotional disorders had suffered serious impairment in the academic, achievement, adjustment, and behavioral spheres. Continuing studies on this program were reported by Cowen, Leibowitz and Leibowitz (1968) in which six non-professionals attended to teacher-referred problem pupils for specific time periods each week (about three and a half days per week), varying treatment with the needs of the pupils. Improvement was again reported by aides and teachers, but the study was not designed to offer generalizable results. Cowen (1971) reported another study of this program in which the effects of housewife aides and college student aides were compared. The mean improvement scores of the two experimental groups combined were significantly greater than the control mean, but the difference was mainly due to the housewife aide effect. A simple *t*-test showed that pupils of the college aide group scored higher than the controls, but not significantly. The gains made by pupils of the housewife aides over those of college aides could be explained in several ways: (1) housewives had been selected for their warmth and rapport with children while the college aides were not screened, (2) the housewives had two years of experience in the schools while the college aides were new at the job, and (3) the housewives were familiar with school personnel, were available more often and had more flexible hours than the college aides. These studies which extend over a period from 1958 to 1971 have consistently reported a positive impact on the experimental pupils in the aide-treatment program, but Cowen et al., offer the following criticisms and suggestions. The study had been restricted to a single experimental school and two control schools and, therefore, factors unrelated to the theoretical content of the program could have affected the outcomes. It must also be noted that the evaluative criteria were tied to the value judgments of investigators in some cases (i.e., behavioral ratings were made by teachers who knew which children were identified with specific treatment groups). In addition, a long-range follow-up study is needed (and has been undertaken) to find out if the effects demonstrated so far are (1) enduring over time, and (2) related to other indicators of mental health disturbances which are more of the face-valid type. The authors concluded that the high incidence (30%) of early pathology and the already serious consequences occurring within the first three years of school suggest a need for intense exploration of early secondary preventive measures, and of treatment interventions which could be implemented in the classroom situation.

Studies by Newton and Brown (1967) and Rubin, Simson and Betwee (1966) reported similar successes in treating adaptive, adjustment and development problems of children in the school setting. Newton and Brown explored the usefulness of a crisis intervention model and employed four different treatments aimed at reducing the stress and problems (disorientation, perception, speech, and social-interaction deficits) of individual pupils who had been diagnosed and treated in a summer program prior to entry into school. Although their study awaits the application of research methodology and data analysis, Newton and Brown reported general and tentative findings indicating that the crisis model used appeared to be an effective concept for managing the stress experienced by pupils in the school setting. They suggested that the spontaneous behavior occurring in natural stress situations of the school environment may have more reality and learning significance than methods of conventional treatment or learning models designed to develop insight into problems and behaviors. Rubin et al. (1966) used a "psycho-educational" treatment described as utilizing the "content approach to teaching," and, "the total classroom atmosphere" in a program which was designed to correct the greatest obstacles to progress in pupil school performance and to offer beneficial experiences. They reported that the greatest overall gains were not in academic performances but were made on measures of behavior adjustment. Pupils described as "disoriented" and "unassertive" appeared to benefit the most when they were removed from the stressful situation of the regular class. These pupils responded with a reduction in their maladaptive behaviors after they were offered a less complicated environment, more structure, and more teacher-pupil interaction, during which the teacher could correct the pupil's misinterpretations of surroundings or perceptions.

Stofter (1970), Glavin, Quay and Werry (1971) and Quarter and Laxer (1970) all reported studies designed to reduce the deviant and basically aggressive behaviors of problem students. Glavin et al., reported positive academic and behavior changes after two years of an individualized "psycho-educational" program. Stoffer's study using warm and empathetic mothers as aides in three months of one-to-one counseling reported more success with shy, withdrawn children than with aggressive children, although improvement occurred across groups. Quarter and Laxer found that a treatment program of small group counseling along with an indirect approach of introducing material on aggression and frustration in seminars did not reduce problem behaviors in their subjects. They suggested that the treatment may well have served instead as a reinforcement of a self-image as a "trouble maker," an image valued by these junior high subjects.

The more serious maladaptive behavior described as "school phobia" has been investigated by Levanthal and Sills (1964) who see this extreme problem as deriving from a child's unrealistic self-image. An extensive review of theories and treatments for school phobia has been compiled by Goldenberg and Goldenberg (1970). It is of importance for teachers and educators to note that there is universal agreement among theorists that children with this problem should be returned to the classroom as soon as possible. Once in the classroom, the treatment of a school phobic child becomes one requiring considerable cooperation among therapist, parents, teachers and school administrators. Early identification by the teacher and early intervention with treatment is reported as significant in returning school phobic pupils to their regular classrooms. Both teachers and administrators should be alerted to the necessity of differentiating the school phobic child from children with other maladaptive behavior problems and should become more familiar with the early behavioral indices of school phobia.

Specific Teacher Behaviors Addressing Pupil Anxiety, Aggression and Dependency

Muller and Madsen (1970) reported positive results in using desensitization techniques to reduce pupil anxiety in test situations and reading performances, respectively. Felker, Stanwyck, and Kay (1973) reported the success of cultivating self-reward behavior in children to enhance their self-concept and reduce their anxiety. In the Felker, et al., study, a significant reduction in mean scores of anxiety from pre- to posttest ($p < .005$) was reported, although there was no significant difference between the experimental and control groups. The authors attributed the lack of difference in experimental and control groups' posttests to the teacher enthusiasm for the program which spread from experimental teachers to controls during the treatment period.

Meathenia (1971) reported the success of a program implemented with kindergarten pupils to alleviate recurring fear and anxiety after a traumatic event in the lives of the children. Although no evaluative methods were used, Meathenia reports that after experiencing a severely damaging tornado in which the pupils had suffered personal loss and injury, pupils were able to work out their anxiety and fear of storms through a program encouraging physical and verbal expression and exploration of their feelings.

The results of alternative methods of dealing with dependent behavior have been reported by several investigators. Since dependent behavior is characterized by approval seeking, approval can be construed as nurturant and reinforcing of dependent behavior. Hartup (1958) found that nurturance withdrawal was significantly related to faster, more accurate learning for girls and also improved the performance of dependent boys. Low-dependent boys, however, worked better under consistent nurturance. Speer, Briggs and Gavalas (1969), in examining the possibility that lack of reinforcement for competence (initiating behaviors) might be more potent in encouraging dependent responses than actual nurturance of dependent behavior, found that dependent and competent behavior did not appear to be mutually exclusive. Using a ratio of dependent to competent behavior, they reported that pre-school girls had a higher ratio of dependent to competent behaviors than boys and that boys exhibited more competent than dependent behaviors, suggesting a possible sex difference at this age level. They found that dependent-reward pupils had more dependent than competent behavior when compared with competent-reward or no-reward pupils. However, since the amount of dependent behavior was not appreciably different between the groups, they suggested that simple reinforcement of behavior as a change agent may be over-rated. Parke (1967) reported only mild support for the theory that nurturance withdrawal has a positive effect for producing greater resistance to deviant behavior in young children. Parke found that nurturance had a greater impact for increasing resistance behaviors for girls, especially when the source of approval was female. Burton, Allinsmith and Maccoby (1966) have investigated the effects of sex of experimenter and sex of subject in a similar study. They found that girls did not conform to rules more than boys, and that, in general, all the children appeared to be more conformed to rules when with an adult of the opposite sex. Boys did exhibit more deviant (cheating) behavior than girls when adult attention was withdrawn, but the authors suggested that their findings were subject to several interpretations and were not conclusive. Gentry (1970) examined the interruption of positive reinforcement opportunities as an antecedent of aggressive behavior in children and found that, while it did not increase aggressive behavior for children in general, interruption of positive reinforcement did produce an increase in the overall activity of the young female subjects. However, it is suggested by the authors that this reported sex difference may have resulted from using play apparatus in the test that was more familiar to five-year-old girls than to boys of this age.

Teacher Behaviors Suggested by Research on Child-Rearing and Family Influence

Baumrind (1967) studied the social competence behaviors of preschool children in relation to parental child-rearing that influence the social competence of children. Pattern I children, identified as the most mature and competent boys and girls, had parents who were essentially firm, loving, demanding, and understanding in their relationships with the child. Pattern II children were described as discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful (dysphoric and disaffiliative, in Baumrind's terms) and had parents who were firm, punitive and unaffectionate. Pattern III children were described as immature, dependent, with little self-control, and a tendency to withdraw from novel experiences. Mothers of Pattern III children were moderately loving and lacking in control, while the fathers were ambivalent and lax in their parent role.

The parenting behaviors of Pattern I (Mature) children reflected a balance of high nurturance with high control characterized by giving reasons and encouraging verbal give and take. These parents made high demands, had clear communication, used power openly and non-manipulatively, and exhibited an ability to maintain a guiding control without inviting rebellion or passivity from their children. The author commented that restrictiveness and control were not synonomous and that the "interacting effects of restrictiveness and warmth clearly differ from the interacting effects of control and warmth." In Baumrind's interpretation, control interacts with warmth to encourage mature behavior in children, while restrictiveness leads to inhibiting, dependent, and submissive behaviors.

Santrock (1970) investigated the social behaviors of children whose fathers were absent from the home and found that father absence may be related to compensatory aggressive behaviors or dependency behavior as a result of more feminine/maternal influence. Biller (1970) makes a similar interpretation of the role of aggression as a compensatory behavior and suggests that aggressive behavior may also be used by father-absent boys in order to gain peer acceptance.

An apparently developmental difference in boys' frustration-aggression relations has been reported by Cohen (1971) who investigated frustration-aggression experiences of males at fourth and sixth grade levels. Cohen defined the experience in terms of punitive, restrictive, and rejection encounters with parents, teachers and peers, correlated with measures of overt aggression. Fourth grade subjects showed frustration correlated significantly with aggression in a negative direction. Sixth grade boys showed frustration associated with peers to be correlated with aggression. Cohen concluded that fourth grade boys suppressed aggressive behavior when frustrated and suggested that this behavior may have been related to the tendency of younger boys to generalize frustration experiences and to continue to use the adult world as their frame of reference, while the sixth grade students appeared to differentiate between frustration experiences, using both peer and adult references to become free of adult control. Shantz and Voydanoff (1973) also found an age difference in young boys' abilities to differentiate between intentional and accidental provocation of aggressive response. Boys aged nine to twelve years differentiated and responded less aggressively to accidental over intentional provocation, while seven-year-olds failed to differentiate between the two circumstances. Twelve-year-old boys responded less aggressively to intentional verbal provocation than intentional physical provocation, but nine- and seven-year-old boys did not make this differentiation. Subjects across age groups who were asked to recall the circumstances of provocation could differentiate between intentional and accidental provocation but did not distinguish between verbal and physical provocation.

Deur and Parke (1970) examined the role of punishment as an inhibitor of aggressive behavior and reported that, with their second and third grade subjects, punishment consistently applied had a suppressive effect on the strength and persistence of agressive response in boys. The authors also reported that a previous history of inconsistent punishment and reward of aggressive behavior resulted in more resistance to the use of consistently applied punishment and more resistance to extinction of aggressive behavior.

By extrapolation, teachers may find the parenting behaviors described for Pattern I of Baumrind's groups to be an effective model for helping children develop mature social behaviors. The studies of aggressive behavior should give some insight into possible sources of aggressive behavior as well as problems children have in differentiating provocations in order to make more appropriate responses. Teachers might help children make these differentiations and help them handle aggressive behaviors more acceptably, while at the same time, correcting unacceptable aggression in a consistent and firm manner.

Robertson and Dotson (1969) examined students' manifestations of affiliative behavior in relation to perceived parental expressivity and subjects' anxiety or stress. The reported results indicated that first-born subjects who react to stress with anxiety and who perceive their parents as affectionate and indulgent are likely to exhibit affiliative behaviors under stress, while first-borns who verbally express high anxiety will not exhibit as much affiliation. The general reactions of seeking association and support and of discussing feelings and events should be recognized by teachers as methods pupils use to cope with stress and anxiety in situations such as testing.

A study by Wolman (1970) undertaken with a population of delinquent adolescent boys and girls dealt with what might be considered more extreme behavior but still offers some insight into normal adolescent behaviors as well. Wolman investigated the relationship between early recollections of childhood and the objective perception of significant others during adolescence. He reported that early memories characterized as succorant and need-fulfilling combined with early memories of abasement and abnegation impaired his subjects' objectivity in their perceptions of significant others, while memories of independent activity and confrontation improved the objectivity and maturity of subjects' perceptions.

The investigator suggested that part of the conflict inherent in the adolescent process is the need "to mourn the loss of and resist the passive wish for one's parents," and to attempt to establish an identity and mature relationships. These conflicts must be resolved at least in part before the adolescent is capable of more objective and mature perception and realistic appraisal of their significant others. Teachers who are constantly made aware of the conflicting attitudes and behaviors of adolescents might be of assistance to pupils in helping them press for resolutions by reducing demands for dependent behaviors and by supporting their pupils' struggles for mature identities.

Organizational Strategies Related to Pupil Stress and Anxiety

The traditional setting for public education has changed considerably in the past two decades. What was innovative one year becomes institutionalized in the next five as desks are detached from their moorings and the single teacher standing at the front of a rectangular world moves into a team teaching or differentiated staffing approach to teaching. New methods, new curriculum, and new organizational strategies have all been introduced for ostensibly only one purpose -- improving education. Although the ultimate criterion is the academic achievement of pupils, different organizational strategies may improve the educational system by offering more environmental opportunities for positive self-concept development. Improving pupil self-concept may not raise the mean of academic achievement, but it may increase the number of pupils achieving at the mean, or reduce the number of pupils who fail in school, or the number who drop out of school.

These strategies should be examined in the light of their efficacy in reducing the stress and anxiety of pupils. Through supportive and responsive environments, teachers may reduce the negative impact of the school experience on some pupils' developing self-concept.

The following three studies offer some research results that apply to this section, if only peripherally.

Berk (1971) reported that in her research on nursery school environments and children's adaptation modes the single environmental characteristic affecting the incidence of stress was the structure of the nursery school program. Using the Wolfson and Jackson conflict category system reported earlier in this chapter, comparisons were made between a Montessori instructional program and a university nursery free-play program. The comparison showed significant differences in the frequency and type of stress incidents found in these two instructional environments. The Montessori program had a greater incidence of total stress events with the category representing teacher interruption of pupil's desire contributing the greatest number of stress incidents. The author suggested that the instructional nature of the Montessori program was responsible for the concentration of events in this category. The Montessori program is designed to control for conflict between children and conflict or stress arising from a discrepancy between a child's desire and his ability. There were greater numbers of incidents of one child's desire vs. another child's desire, child desire vs. clutter-crowds, and also more frequent use of verbal adaptation strategies in the free-play nursery school environment. The author found support in this study for acknowledging the importance of the interdependency of environmental and behavioral phenomenon in that the environmental characteristics become the conditions that determine the type of stress and prescribe the appropriate behavioral responses to stress.

In a study based on a survey of a Mexican-American and Anglo-American sample of 160 first graders and 382 sixth graders, Schmidt and Gallessich (1971) reported that team teaching yielded lower anxiety levels in general for all first grade girls and for Mexican-American pupils at the first and sixth grade levels when compared to the anxiety levels of subjects in a self-contained classroom situation. The investigators suggested that the availability of more than one female model in the team situation increased the pupils' chances for obtaining teacher approval and that perhaps the presence of colleagues motivated team teachers to maintain a more positive relationship with their pupils.

Ruedi and West (1973) found that intermediate pupils in an open classroom situation viewed their school as more friendly and less threatening than pupils in a traditional, self-contained setting. However, the authors cautioned that this finding may have been due to chance, since only this one correlation out of the 20 examined attained statistical significance. The 19 non-significant correlations were obtained with variables from a global self-concept instrument which may not have been sufficiently discriminating as a measure of self-concept related to the school experience. In addition, the sample was of insufficient size for the number of correlations sought in this study. The author suggested that multiple criteria for self-concept measures should be used in future studies examining the effect of open classroom and traditional school settings.

The studies on the psychological construct of the sense of Bodily Self cited in this chapter have been placed in a theoretical context and have been considered from a perspective which, with very few exceptions, bears little relationship to the reporting investigator's original purpose in conducting his study and interpreting his results. The theoretical context in which we are viewing these studies presents the psychological constructs of self as products of the individual's psychological experiences. We have considered these studies in the light of the information and insight they can contribute toward understanding the effect of certain teacher behaviors as psychological experiences from which the pupil derives the senses of self.

The initial sense of self described as the Sense of Bodily Self includes a sense of self as a physical entity that has boundaries and possesses physiological and psychological characteristics. These characteristics define the self as an object and as a stimulus to others. The sense of Bodily Self also includes a sense of self continuity as the sense of self that persists through psychological and physical events of change across time. It includes as well a basic sense of trust or mistrust as the initial psychological state arising from the first interactions of the self in relation to others and the environment. The psychological experiences from which the senses of self are formed occur in relationship with significant others and the environment. The interaction between the developing self, his significant others, and his environment constitutes the behavioral dialogue in which self-concept development occurs.

The behavioral dialogue of the classroom consists of the interaction between the pupil as a developing self, the teacher as a significant or salient other, and all other persons including the physical setting as the interacting environment. The reflections, responses, and interpretations provided by the significant others and the environment form the psychological experiences from which the developing self derives a concept of self-as-object, and through which he perceives the nature of his impact upon significant others and the environment. Within this theoretical context, then, the teacher's behaviors as a significant other and the teacher's behaviors as an organizer and controller of the interacting environment can be perceived as having a direct influence on the formation of the senses of self for each pupil in the classroom.

The efforts of research have been concentrated upon the task of identifying teacher behaviors and responses to pupil characteristics that have an effect on the academic achievement of pupils. Since the value for academic achievement dominates all areas of educational research, most studies of self-concept development in pupils are undertaken to determine if improved self-concepts in pupils will effect an improvement in pupil academic achievement. Research on teacher responses to the physiological and environmental characteristics of pupils and the relationship of teacher response to pupil's sense of Bodily Self is very sparse. There is some evidence in the present body of research that teachers do respond to pupil characteristics of sex, race, and socio-economic status and there are some suggestions that differential teacher responses to these pupil characteristics may affect the academic performances of pupils. Teachers' responses to pupil characteristics also appear to reflect the values and standards of middle-class society and emphasize the teacher's function as a model and purveyor and reinforcer of middle-class norms and beliefs.

Perhaps the greatest benefit that could be derived from the present research would be for each teacher to achieve or increase his objective awareness of his own style of response to the physiological and psychological characteristics of his pupils and to give more attention to the nature of the psychological and physical environment he is creating in his classrooms.

There are indications in the present research literature that the role of the teacher as a purveyor and reinforcer of middle-class values and standards influences the teacher's performance as a significant other and affects the images of the Bodily Self reflected to each pupil. The differential responses of teachers to physiological and psychological characteristics of pupils presently reported in research studies suggests that middle-class values and standards are not implemented as values, standards, and goals to be achieved by pupils, but as the basis of judgments that determine the nature and extent of the behavioral dialogue that will exist between the teacher and the pupil. Teachers may communicate their responses to pupil characteristics both verbally and non-verbally. They can express their judgments and impose limitations on the behavioral dialogue by the organization of seating arrangements or by the amount and nature of the contact they initiate with individual pupils or help pupils initiate with other pupils.

With increased awareness and sensitivity to the level of anxiety, response to frustration, and need for approval expressed by each pupil and the trust or mistrust pupils exhibit toward their school situation and those they must relate to in the school, teachers can help each pupil acquire a more positive image of his

Bodily Self and to experience the acceptance and approval essential for revising his constructs of social behavior.

Chapter IV References

Introduction

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CHAPTER V

Self Identity

Teachers' behaviors and pupils' concept of self-identity related to social roles, acceptance, hostility, self-awareness, independence, authority, openness and the acquisition of language.

The psychological construct of "Self-Identity" represents the sense of self acquired in relation to significant others and the environment. The sense of self-identity is the sense of self developed in reference to the external environment and from the reflection and response to self made by external sources. The behavioral dialogue between the developing self and the external environment begins with the first impact of the developing self upon his environment. In this initial impact the interpretive roles of the salient and significant others can be observed as they respond to the presence of the developing self and take cues for their own interacting behaviors from their interpretation of the physiological state, the physical movements, and the sounds of the developing self. All of the interpretations made by the salient and significant others bear the imprint of their unique psychological experiences as well as their individual socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. The developing self, the controlling salient and significant others, and the physical environment comprise the elements of the behavioral dialogue out of which the senses of self evolve.

The sense of the Bodily Self, of physical entity and self-continuity emerge from the behavioral dialogue as the cognitive and affective processes of the self-experiencing-the-self and the self-differentiating-the-self-from-others, continue to occur. The initial flow of varying sensations experienced by the developing self becomes marked by repeated physical sensations from the daily biological cycle, e.g., hunger, rest, etc., and the psychological experiences from the constant and consistent interpretation and response of significant others to the events in the behavioral dialogue. The repetition of sensations within the flow of experienced sensations provides a basis for the formation of cognitive constructs and behavioral schema through the cognitive processes of association and differentiation.

The constructs formed by the developing self are products representing the behaviors of both sides of the behavioral dialogue—the behaviors of the developing self and the behaviors of others. When significant others interpret the behavior of the developing self as cues for food, for rest, for cleansing, or for fondling and attention, the significant other is, in a sense, participating on both sides of the dialogue. This process of dialogue interpretation, by its constancy and consistency, serves to strengthen the associations made and reinforces the behaviors of both participants in the dialogue. For example, certain physical cues of the developing self which have been initially interpreted by the significant other as indicating a need for rest can become the behavioral language through which the developing self communicates a need for rest.

By their differential responses to the behavioral cues of the developing self, the significant and salient others in the behavioral dialogue reflect the developing self as a stimulus for their behavior and provide the psychological events in which the developing self can experience his impact upon others and the environment. In the reflections and responses of others, then, the developing self acquires a sense of self as object and reinforcement of his subjective sense of self as an initiator and performer.

By accepting the interpretations placed upon his behavior by the significant and salient others in his environment, events within the behavioral dialogue become mutually understood experiences for the participants in the dialogue. These mutual experiences from which the developing self has acquired associations and interpretations form the foundations of a communication system. The communication established through physical motor behaviors forms the basis for acquiring a system of symbolic communication but body language remains as an effective means of communication throughout life.

As the symbolic system of communication is acquired, the senses of self discovered in the preceding psychological experiences can be cognitively organized, identified, and described to communicate the sense of self-in-relation-to-others not only to the self as a part of the self-concept, but to others as the self's perceived identity.

The emphasis placed on the dynamics of relationships and communication when defining the psychological construct of self-identity also introduces and underscores the importance of the role that cultural values play in the formation of self-identity and in the operating self-concept of each individual. The initial communication of relationship is, as Erikson describes it, a message of acceptance or rejection, of friendliness or hostility toward the developing self. The persistence of the initial message results in an internalized "set" in the attitude of the developing self, not only toward his objectified self, but in his subjective attitude toward all others and the environment. As an understanding and interpretation of self-in-relation-to-others (including the environment), an attitude of trust or mistrust influences the interpretation of succeeding psychological experiences from which self-concept derives, but the persistence of the initial attitude must be considered in the light of the many opportunities for change offered in the context of relationships. The process of self-identification through awareness of self-in-relation-to-others is an expanding and incorporating process as well as a disaffiliating and discarding process.

The role of the significant other in the process of establishing self-identity is difficult to over-emphasize. The content of the message sent to the developing self may or may not be consciously known to the sender. The image reflected to the developing self and the content of the behavioral dialogue between the developing self and the significant other are, in large part, determined by the self-concept and self-concerns of the significant others. Persistent and behaviorally expressed self-concerns that are grounded in fears, such as a fear of responsibility, a fear of incompetence, or a fear of inadequacy, can destroy or reduce the behavioral dialogue to a monologue delivered by the significant other. The absence of the necessary dialogue and the intrusion of the self-concerns of significant others into the reflected image of the developing self can affect the process of self-identity formation in a variety of ways. The sense of self-identity is influenced by the variance in behavior and the characteristics of both the significant other and the developing self. However, at this point, we are concerned only with the theoretical functions of the significant other that facilitate the process of self-awareness and the formation of self-identity.

If the significant other only allows the developing self the role of a negative stimulus in the behavioral dialogue, the perception and awareness of self will be that of the self as negatively related to others and the environment. If, in addition, the events in this primarily monological relationship have been kept to a minimum, thus providing only very limited as well as negative psychological experiences, the developing self may thereafter seek to maintain a low frequency of interactive events with others and the environment, withdrawing from, avoiding, and curtailing those additional psychological experiences which might otherwise have helped him acquire a positive reflection of self.

The self-concerns of significant others often intrude upon the reflected image of the developing self and have a determining effect on the emerging awareness of self and the developing sense of self-identity. When the relationship to the developing self is perceived as a test or evaluation of the adequacies and capabilities of the significant other, the developing self is reflected as a product or extension of the significant other, a product only conditionally acceptable to the significant other when it exhibits prescribed and conforming behaviors. The significant other who is concerned to be seen as completely adequate and totally responsible in his relationship to the developing self can produce a behavioral monologue by anticipating, providing, and completing both sides of the behavioral dialogue. The monologue of the significant other totally obscures the reflected image of the developing self, negating both the process and the product of self-identification. The developing self who experiences repeated rejection, frustration, and non-recognition as an active and participating member in the behavioral dialogue cannot acquire a concept of self as related to, or having impact upon others and his environment. Infantile autism is thought to be a condition reflecting the extreme result of a disruption in the process of "self" development and the failure to form a concept of self-identity, whether the cause of the condition is considered to be of physiological and/or psychological origin. The theoretical implications for treating an autistic condition by establishing a behavioral dialogue in which constant and consistent therapists function as significant others in an environment that provides remedial psychological experiences for differentiating the self from others and the environment appear to be substantiated in the reports of Lovaas, Koegel, Simmons, and Long (1973).

The intrusion of cultural values into the formation of self-concept occurs through the reflecting role of the significant other and the environment. Just as the reflecting properties of a common looking glass are determined by the idiosyncratic characteristics of the glass surface, with its perfections and distortions and the equally essential presence and characteristics of the metallic backing on the glass, so the reflected image of the developing self is determined by the idiosyncracies of significant others as a reflecting surface and by the presence and characteristics of the cultural milieu as the reflective base.

The value of "individualism" so strongly emphasized in our society is an individualism defined by the dominant culture of our society. The "self-identity" to be achieved in our society is one that relates the individual to our cultural norms and mores. The concept and category systems developed by the self in the process of differentiating self from others will contain the values and interpretations derived from the culture but re-interpreted and reflected by significant others in the immediate environment. The continuum between home and school environments represents a comparison of the two value systems. It compares the value system, concept and categories, symbol systems, and schemas of goal-directed behaviors acquired by each pupil in his familial setting with the systems and concepts defined and institutionalized by the dominant culture. Broad labels such as "deficient" and/or "disadvantaged" do not discriminate among those pupils who have a limited ability to organize and conceptualize, those pupils who lack the opportunity and experience necessary for developing and organizing constructs, and those pupils who have developed symbol systems, concepts, and organizational schema apart from the core culture.

For each of the pupils labeled as deficient or disadvantaged, the label becomes a reflection of self in the school environment and serves as a psychological experience from which a part of the concept of self-in-relation-to-others, or self-identity, is derived.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Self-Awareness

Minuchin (1971) reported a pilot study designed to investigate curiosity and exploratory behaviors in preschool, black, disadvantaged children in an urban Head Start program and to relate these behaviors to developmental dimensions. Children with more exploratory behavior were found to exhibit a greater degree of self-differentiation. They also exhibited stronger expectations of support, coherence, and facilitation from their environment, as well as greater conceptual mastery. Examination of the data obtained in this pilot study lead Minuchin to make the following suggestions for further research: (1) A study should be made to examine the link between children's responses on dimensions used in this study and variations in family background; (2) this pilot study should be replicated and extended to middle-class samples; and (3) on the premise that curiosity and active exploratory behavior are important to early learning, preschool models should be examined to determine the extent to which their programs and teaching methodologies encourage exploratory behavior. In considering the development theories that hypothesize a dissonance or imbalance between organized schemata and new experiences as a condition for further exploratory behavior and growth, the author further suggested that a simple schemata or organization may be an assumed precondition and that children who have not acquired a simple schemata would need to achieve this initial step before being subjected to a more stimulating and dissonance-inducing environment. This very modest study, while not contributing to generalizable information, takes a singularly explorative approach to research on self-awareness that warrants further investigation.

In an earlier study Dyk and Witkin (1965) investigated the link between familial background experiences and children's self-differentiation development. Using an initial group of 21 mother-and-10-year-old-son pairs, the investigators found that the children of mothers whose behaviors were believed to foster differentiation gave evidence of a more developed concept of differentiation on measures of articulation of experience, differentiation of self, and both the specialization and structure of defenses. Children's self-differentiation ratings were found to correlate with those of their mothers, lending support to the assumption that a link exists between family background and children's responses on psychological dimensions measuring the development of self-identity.

The more common approach to research on teacher behavior and pupil self-awareness has been through the evaluation of theory-based programs implemented in a variety of school situations.

The Human Development Program (Bessell and Palomares, 1973, Rev.), a program reflecting Horney's personality development theory, concentrates its curriculum on three themes: awareness, defined as "knowing what your thoughts, feelings and actions really are;" mastery, "knowing what your abilities are and how to use them;" and social-interaction, "knowing other people." The curriculum has been developed for use at kindergarten through high school levels. The Human Development Supplementary Guide (1972) reported five minor evaluation studies of the program at kindergarten, first, fourth, fifth, and remedial high school curriculum levels. Detailed descriptions of measures, operational definitions, and statistical methodologies were not available in the reports. The variables described in the reports included language, vocabulary and comprehension, awareness, interpersonal relations, peer relations, and affective performance (the ability to verbalize feelings). After pre- and posttests and control group comparisons, the five studies all reported positive results of the program's effectiveness as measured by the selected variables, regardless of program level and variations in program implementation.

Several other programs designed to help pupils develop self-awareness reflect the translation of developmental and behavioral theories into educational programs. These programs emphasize the intuitive acceptance by educators of the need for developing pupil self-awareness as an integral part of the educating process. The programs designed, however, do not often include any formal plans for program research or evaluation in order to monitor the implementation or measure the success in achieving program objectives.

Long and Wolsk (1971) described an experimental elementary program that utilized the theoretical role of dissonant experience and equilibrium-seeking as a motivation toward growth and self-understanding. Using each pupil as a unique source, the program provides stimuli and information to each pupil to be used individually for achieving personal goals of self-awareness and anxiety reduction. Pietrofesa (1969) has designed a curriculum for self-understanding at the high school level. This program uses a more cognitive approach to pupil self-understanding and provides a series of topical units dealing with theories of development, the psychology of adolescents, adolescent behavior, and problem solving techniques. Hiner (1964) has developed a unit on self-awareness for use with exceptional children. This program encourages self-differentiation, concept formation, and the organization of behavioral schema through a variety of program activities and a variety of media.

A review of recent literature supplies ample evidence that, in the area of affective research and program development, intuition continues to outdistance investigation and evaluation. Most educational programs aimed at self-awareness are reported as having at least satisfactory if not completely successful outcomes. The reported successes may be cases of self-fulfilling prophecies, or of publishing policies, or perhaps an indication that schools sufficiently interested and oriented toward programs of this kind produce a phenomenon not entirely attributable to the program itself. In order to truly benefit from the insight and intuition of program developers, further evaluation, validation, and research is needed to bridge the distance now existing between theory, program, and reported success.

There are two directions indicated for teacher behaviors by the current research on pupil self-awareness: (1) Teachers can become sensitive to the various levels of concept formation exhibited by pupils, and aware of the organizational schema for goal-directed behavior evidenced by individual pupils. Teachers should be aware that pupils' levels of concept formation can be related to the lack of ability, the lack of opportunity, or to culturally dictated differences, and (2) Teachers should consider a reduction of stimuli as a possible means of helping children with poor differentiation processes and poor concept development to make the initial steps for improvement. In addition, teachers should explore the premise that concept development emerges from psychological experiences that are constant, consistent, and manageable.

Teacher Behavior and the Pupils' Role-Identity

The psychological experiences from which the concept of self and all other concepts derive occur in the interaction between the developing self, his significant others, and his environment. The initial mode of communication and the one that endures throughout life is that of concrete, experienced, and observable physical behavior. Constant and consistent physical behaviors experienced and observed in the behavioral dialogue produce patterns that become interpretable and predictable by both participants and thus form the basis of communication. The mutual categories of behavior and the mutual concepts of the roles of both the developing self and the significant other characterize the behavioral dialogue. In this dialogue, however, the significant other initially interprets, predicts, and communicates all behaviors according to his already developed and culturally referenced concepts of his role and the role of the developing self. Thus, the image reflected to the developing self contains a cultural concept of his role as interpreted and modified by the significant other and further modified by the perception of the developing self. Through the continuing processes of differentiation and association, the behaviors experienced and interpreted in the behavioral dialogue are grouped according to their functions, thus forming concepts of roles. The developing self can then acquire a self-identity related to his roles and develop concepts of other roles for identifying others.

The pupil whose preschool self-identity is based on the roles defined and prescribed by the dominant culture can move into the school experience and acquire the necessary new roles with a minimum of adjustment time and with low psychic cost. But for those pupils whose physiological conditions or earlier environments have not provided the means or opportunities for developing a self-identity related to the role definitions of the dominant culture, the new experiences encountered in the school environment can be both debilitating and developmentally destructive. But there are ways by which new roles and concepts of identity can be acquired without painful confrontation.

The realization that what had once been called "play" is actually the legitimate work of the developing self is now reflected in the literature and programs concerned with child-development. The implementation of this realization into the practice of organizing and structuring play experiences to achieve desired and specified goals is apparent in pre-school programs. In the last two decades development of equipment, materials, and techniques designed for the express purpose of structuring and simulating behavioral dialogues predicted to enhance both intra- and interpersonal relationships has become a profitable and proliferating industry.

Two of the most popular techniques adapted to the school environment and teacher-leadership are the use of simulated experiences such as role-play and the use of structured experiences as programs designed for organized groups. Both of these techniques can be used with a variety of materials for a broad range of affective objectives. The majority of reported programs implementing these techniques, however, have relied upon subjective evaluation in reporting the effectiveness of these techniques in achieving program goals, and the reports of successful results lack the evidence of objective measures, with only a few exceptions.

Koval and Hales (1972), using four subtests of the California Test of Personality, evaluated the Duso (Developing Understanding of Self and Others) Guidance Program. This program is aimed at helping children develop adequate self concepts, techniques of self-assessment for identification of personal strengths and the acceptance of self-limitations, all to be achieved through the use of guided group experiences, role-playing, and other media. At the end of a ten-week experimental period, pupils who participated in the Duso Program reported feeling more capable of independent achievement, more self-directing, and more accepted by others than the non-participating control group. The authors reported that independent of the program, a sense of personal freedom tended to increase with grade level and concluded that both the program and grade level appeared to affect the self-concepts of primary-aged children in this Appalachian sample.

Programs that offer opportunities and provide arenas for participants to take an objective view of self and of self-in-relation-to-others by guiding the examination of underlying concepts and values expressed in behavior and attitude have good theoretical and staff support. Materials and techniques used in school adapted programs are generally coordinated with theories of developmental levels for various age groups. Bettleheim (1972) gives theoretical support for utilizing games by adding guidance and purpose. Gilpatrick (1969) has examined the picture book as a tool for helping children identify with others while developing more useful and broader concepts of self and others. Mende and Kauffman (1971) investigated the use of videotaped sessions in which program participants were given the opportunity to actually view themselves and their interactive behaviors and from which greater awareness of self and self-behavior is intended to develop and then be guided toward further self-control and socialization. For those pupils whose cognitive development and concept formation allow for more symbolic representations of behavior there is a great number and variety of innovative programs and techniques. A comprehensive review and description of varied programs and techniques designed to increase self-knowledge has been compiled by Crist (1972).

In this area of affective research we are again caught in the position of presuming to "know" more than we can "show." We can produce far more evidence of the faith we have in developmental theories than of the facts presumed to be inherent in these theories. There is as yet no research evidence that the use of simulated or structured experiences expressly designed to objectify the self and allow examination of the roles of self and of self-in-relation-to-others actually produces generalizeable knowledge that facilitates the development of individual self-identity apart from the immediate program environment. The lack of such evidence does not invalidate this approach, but neither does it offer any basis whatsoever from which to propose the use of these techniques for the purpose of facilitating self-awareness and self-identity development. Given these conditions, there is no basis from which to examine or claim the superiority of any one technique, a particular set of materials, or one program over another in producing desired results. In order to establish a basis for decision making, a great deal of research and evaluation is yet to be done.

However, since program development and implementation have and probably will continue to proliferate on the premise that it puts theory into practice, it might be of some benefit to state some theory-based cautions. Programs which, at this time, can only purport to help a pupil develop self-awareness and assist pupils in developing concepts and skills considered to be essential for improving intra- and interpersonal relationships must necessarily have a cultural perspective. This perspective, to be appropriate for public school contexts, must reflect the values and concepts of the dominant culture. As an expression of the educational objective of achieving the socialization of individual pupils and to bring them into the cultural mainstream, such programs may not provide the means by which pupils of subcultures or different cultures can relate their previous experience and present concept development to the events occurring in the program.

On a more individualized basis, the process of objectifying the self and examining the roles of self-in-relation-to-others can be a confronting and threatening experience, again with debilitating and demoralizing effects on self-development (Winter, Griffith & Kolb, 1968; Brehm & Cohen, 1962; and Erikson, 1959). The circumstances under which self-confrontation and self-revelation occur should be those which always insure psychological safety for the individual (Miles, 1959), a condition not insured by good intent.

Language Behavior and Self-Identity

Language behavior is also a process-product achieved through the same two cognitive processes, differentiation and association, so essential to the formation of a sense of self-identity. The developing self acquires language behavior within the same relationships and under the same conditions in which self-identity develops, and, in theory, language behavior is assumed to be a parallel and interacting product of both physiological and psychological development.

The physiological condition of the developing self dictates the level of physical and intellectual abilities for receiving and processing the experiences essential for acquiring language behavior. The conditions affecting significant others and the environment dictate the content and frequency of those experiences made available to the developing self for receiving and processing.

From the inception of the behavioral dialogue until the developing self acquires formal verbal language behaviors, the dominating function of significant others in the behavioral dialogue is that of interpreter. The significant other interprets the behaviors of the developing self and associates these behaviors with both physical and language behavior experiences as they occur within the behavioral dialogue. The language behaviors and their interpretations contain the same lamination of idiosyncratic and cultural components found in the image of the developing self reflected by significant others. Interpretations that are constant and consistent can be differentiated, associated, classified, and organized into a conceptual framework to provide for the acquisition and execution of language behaviors mutual to the participants in the behavioral dialogue.

The efficacy with which the significant other performs his interpretive functions is subject to the same influences that affect his performance as a reflector. However, the developing self must initially accept as his reality the interpretations made by significant others of all his behaviors, his role, his relationships, and his environment until he acquires a basis for discrimination, testing, and judging. The construct of reality projected to the developing self must be subjected to testing through the continual processing of additional psychological experiences. In this processing, those interpretations and associated behaviors reinforced by positive attention or lack of negative attention can become the basis for concept formation and for organizing behaviors directed toward both the satisfaction of needs and achievement of goals. The interpretation and reinforcement of particular behaviors, together with the opportunities and limitations of the environment, combine to form the concepts and behaviors that become characteristic of social groups, and become a part of group and self-identity. The communicating behavior of a group is one of its most identifying characteristics and the symbolic language behavior forms a partial model of the social systems operating within a group, giving expression to its concepts, values, and role definitions. The verbal language behavior of an individual also forms a partial model of his group memberships and the status of his physiological and psychological development in reference to his group memberships.

In the past four decades the relationship between language use and socioeconomic and ethnic group membership has been under increasing investigation. In the past two decades sociolinguists and sociologists, notably Bernstein (1961), have formulated theories relating social factors to language use and have undertaken a respectable number of studies testing the hypothesized relationship. Studies that have confirmed the relationship between language use and social, economic, or ethnic groups, documenting significant differences in language usage between such groups, have also served to emphasize the role of middle-class values in our concept of public education and its purposes. Differences discerned by the various measures and methods used in these studies were initially defined as deficits and disadvantages that required remedial programs for the children of the "culturally deprived" before they could enter the public school system. The more recent trend toward preparatory programs and individualized instruction has acknowledged differences in cultural heritage and language use as such and has also shown a more pragmatic trend toward complementing rather than supplanting the cultural heritage and language of minority groups with the culture and language of the middle-class majority.

By the time a child reaches primary school age, his sense of self-identity is an interfusion of the sense of bodily self, the self differentiated from others and the self-in-relation-to-others and his experienced environment. His concept formation and organizational schema for goal-directed behaviors have been initiated and developed to function within this experienced developmental milieu and have enabled him to assume some responsibility for interpreting the events in his ongoing behavioral dialogue with significant others and his environment. His interpretations of events are expressed in verbal and non-verbal behaviors that represent his repertoire of acquired social behaviors. The appropriateness and adequacy of concepts and behaviors acquired in the preschool, familial environment must now be tried and tested in the school environment.

Pupils whose previous experiences have prepared them with concepts and behaviors appropriate and adequate for functioning in the school environment, those who encounter only minor and minimal alterations in the environmental continuum of home and school, can maintain and increase their sense of self-identity with another group membership and feelings of belonging. For other pupils, the sense of self-identity must be maintained in whole or in part through those previously formed concepts and behaviors that prove to be appropriate and, if not completely adequate, at least serviceable in the new environment. The break in the continuum can be so acute for some pupils that a sense of self-identity must be maintained by rejecting the new environment and intensifying the concepts and behaviors that reinforce membership and a sense of belonging to the familial environment. For those pupils whose experience in the school environment allows for only marginal membership in that community, the need for self-identity through group affiliation may be met through the creation of small groups and/or through behaviors that establish a group and self-identity by deliberately reversing the behavioral standards and values of the dominant group.

The classroom teacher as controller of the environment and as a significant other is most opportunely positioned to assist each pupil in maintaining and establishing a sense of self-identity in the school situation. But well positioned though they may be, teachers are not always well prepared to function as interpreters of the behavioral dialogue for those pupils whose experiential development has occurred in environments dissimilar to their own. Being partially prepared with an ability to assess and evaluate pupils as a sorting and culling process without the ability to provide those pupils who vary from the norm with needed experiences and interpretations may only result in a labeling process that does not serve the teacher or the pupil advantageously. Such labels may, on the contrary, cause pupils to devalue their membership in the school community.

The role of the teacher as the significant other whose interpretations must be circumstantially accepted appears to have the potential for considerable impact on a pupil's sense of self-identity. The classroom teacher should have additional potential for impact as a controller of the environment in which the behavioral dialogue takes place. However, studies of the impact of teachers' verbal and nonverbal behaviors have been chiefly concerned with the teacher behaviors that appear to be related to pupil achievement of cognitive goals and gains and only peripherally concerned with the impact on pupil self-concept.

There are several studies from which suggestive information can be gained that have examined pupils' cultural and language differences in the school environment. Fisher (1974) compared the results of a first-grade bilingual-biculture program stressing individual attention and freedom with a non-program control group having the same instructional approach. On three measures, self-concept, self-description, and stimulus-seeking activity, the program subjects reported significant differences. It appeared that the program significantly enhanced the self-concept of both Anglo and Chicano girls, but not that of the boys. In fact, the program appeared to have a lowering effect on the self-concept of Anglo boys and had no significant effect on that of Chicano boys. Self-description measures showed a reduction in negative feelings among the experimental Chicano subjects, unlike the Chicano subjects of the control group, and also reported that Chicano pupils in the program felt themselves to be important members of their class, unlike their control counterparts. Stimulus seeking behaviors increased among the girls in the program, but not among the boys, which led the author to suggest that this behavior may be related to self-concept and therefore may change as self-concept changes. In another study (Harris & Stockton, 1973) formal data indicated that bilingual instruction of physical education fourth- and fifth-grade integrated Chicano and Anglo classes produced a significant difference only on a measure of Spanish vocabulary. However, the authors felt that other informal evidence, such as pupils becoming less hesitant, and in some cases actually eager to identify themselves as Chicanos, demonstrated significant success for the bilingual approach.

Two groups of Indian pupils were compared in a study by Lefley (1974). One group was involved in a special cultural program, the other was not. The investigator took great care to make all instruments applicable to the subjects and their background. With these instruments three significant changes in the culture program group were found: (1) they had reduced distance between present self and ideal self, (2) they demonstrated increased valuing of Indian symbols/stimuli, and (3) there was an increased correlation between ethnic and personal self-perception. The author felt that the reported negative results in many studies of ethnic programs may be due to the need for multi-dimensional approaches to self-concept and culturally appropriate instruments.

Kleinfeld (1973) reported a relationship between Indian and Eskimo pupils' perceptions of their integrated classroom climates and teachers' ratings of these pupils' verbal participation in class. The relationship suggested that a negative perception of the classroom and a fear of ridicule or rejection, may lead to low verbal participation. The verbal participation of pupils was found to be related to peer nominations for good scholarship, leadership, and popularity by Ahlbrand and Hudgins (1970). This study also indicated that girls received more nominations as top scholars independent of actual grades or participating performance. For the authors of this study the question of causality remained to be addressed. Further research is needed to determine if participation in class creates a social visibility resulting in increased peer nominations, or whether the pupil's status among peers encourages him to participate more vocally in the class.

In each of these six studies, the investigators have offered their results as tentative findings with an appropriate caution against generalized application to other situations. They have also made a number of warranted suggestions for improving their designs and methods in further and similar research of this area. These studies, however, with all their limitations and confounds are generally typical of the research that has been done to date on this difficult subject. Although such studies may not contribute to a large body of generalizeable knowledge, they do contribute to a broader understanding of the research problems to be faced and point other researchers toward more productive questions and directions.

There are several questions that could be considered with regard to the findings reported in the six studies cited. In Fisher's study, the effects of the bilingual/biculture program at the first grade level indicate a general increase on self-concept measures for Chicano subjects and a general decrease on the same measures for Anglo subjects, with a statistically significant decrease for Anglo boys. Other sex differences in program effect were also reported as favoring female subjects. Lefley's study, which also included subjects of primary age level as well as bilingual and bicultural program components (Miccosukee and Anglo cultures, Mikasuka and English languages), reported no sex differences in program effects related to increased self-concept scores, and the author suggests that the improvement may be a demonstration of greater satisfaction with self through renewed appreciation of Indian identity. Harris and Stockton also informally reported the increase in Chicano pupils' willingness to be identified as Chicanos after the bilingual program began. These studies and others report that minority members appear to gain in self-concept when programs that relate minority culture and language to the learning environment are offered in the school setting.

The adverse effects of the bilingual/bicultural program on male Anglo participants in Fisher's study raises several interesting questions. The first question is whether this effect was unique to that particular program. Since the subjects of the study were first-graders and the male Chicano sample as well as the Anglo subjects showed no appreciable increase in self-concept, the effect might be the result of beginning school and responding on the pretest of self-concept with unrealistic enthusiasm. The posttest may reflect more experience and a subsequently lowered but more realistic response on self-concept measures. This study also differs from the other studies cited with regard to circumstances and setting. The program included a presentation of both the language and culture of a minority group to members of the majority and minority culture. We might also ask whether the content of the program failed to offer opportunities for positive self-identification for males, and particularly for Anglo males. In this same vein, it may be possible that the Anglo boys were exhibiting the effects of alienation and irrelevance usually hypothesized for members of minority groups who have been forced into non-supportive core culture environments.

When we speak of the teacher as the controller of the environment, it is done with full recognition that the teacher functions in the role as it is defined by the larger society outside the classroom door. It is also with the full recognition that the conflicts and problems of that larger society come through the classroom door. As more and more minorities seek to exercise influence over the policy decisions of local school boards, and as schools become involved in the problem-solving efforts of the national community, the role of the teacher as controller and contributor to the minisociety of the local school and classroom becomes more demanding. A value for individual rights creates a conflict with custom and curriculum at classroom levels that have become not only philosophical but personal problems for many administrators and teachers.

The acquisition of self-identity is a continuing process for teachers as well as pupils. How the school environment reflects the individual and how the school environment defines the role and interprets the behaviors of pupils is a very real part of a personal process. To acquire self-identity it is necessary to relate either positively or negatively to a reference group. The cognitive processes of differentiation and association are used in developing concepts such as alike and unlike, inclusive or exclusive, and same or different. Concept development in the classroom should not be confounded with value judgments of good-bad, superior-inferior, right and wrong. It is difficult but possible for the teacher to create a classroom environment where the reference group of the classroom and the teacher as a significant other reflect the occupants with positive affect and all class members can work to establish a behavioral dialogue in which every member can successfully participate. To achieve such a classroom environment, most teachers will need the assistance of well-researched and evaluated culture-oriented programs and materials along with training for their proper implementation and use.

Teachers' Interpretative and Language Behaviors

The teacher helps pupils acquire the sets of concepts and behaviors appropriate to the learning environment, and also has a crucial role in determining which concepts and behaviors will be appropriate in the classroom. The teacher defines the roles of both parties in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom and by interpreting the diverse behaviors of many pupils helps to form a functional and mutual language in the environment that becomes characteristic of this small society. In a study that examined the teacher-imitating behavior of white advantaged and black disadvantaged pupils at the fourth-grade level, Portuges and Feshback (1972) found that the advantaged pupils in general, and particularly the girls, imitated the behaviors of the positive and reinforcing teacher model significantly more than the black disadvantaged pupils. Differences in imitating behavior were also significant between girls and boys, in the choice of the negative and positive teacher models, and in the interaction between positive and negative teacher models with advantaged and disadvantaged pupils. For the "advantaged" boys in this sample, measures of pupil dependency demonstrated a positive relationship with imitative behavior. The advantaged boys were also the only group to demonstrate a relationship between preference for a positive reinforcing teacher and imitative behaviors. The disadvantaged boys showed the least imitative behavior for either teacher model, and disadvantaged girls did not discriminate between teacher models. The authors commented that the next task for research will be to determine the kinds and range of teacher behaviors that would facilitate learning when imitated, and to identify the pupil population most likely to benefit from an imitative style of learning. Friedman (1973) also found that first-grade pupils of an integrated class imitated the verbal behavior of highly reinforcing teachers, but that pupils who received infrequent reinforcement did not significantly discriminate between imitation of high or low reinforcing teachers. The author commented that, considering the population of a classroom, reinforcement effects were probably perceived as cumulative, since the amount of reinforcement received by one pupil in the classroom would hardly be sufficient to allow accurate discrimination between high and low reinforcing teachers.

The interactive patterns of imitative behavior, dependency, and preference reported in these two studies may be indicative of the states of self-concept development for subject groups, and the influence of the teacher as a significant other. The significantly greater amount of imitative behavior measured by the imitation of peripheral and incidental behaviors of teacher models suggests that the perceived similarities in the reinforcing behaviors of both models moved pupils to discriminate on other characteristics of the models. For the dependent white boys who imitated and preferred the positive reinforcement model, teachers may function fully as significant others, providing needed self reflection and prescribed role behaviors, but for the dependent black girls, the function of the significant other may not have been appropriately filled by either of these models, particularly by models supplied on four minutes of film. The imitative behaviors of the black disadvantaged groups may have been affected by the subject content of the lesson (a geography lesson on Africa using a map and pictures of African animals). This subject may have had an inhibiting effect in that third- and fourth-grade children are not ignorant of the association between "blacks" and "Africa." The pictures of innocuous animals and the maps used in the lesson may not have replaced the native villages of Tarzan films as the recurring image of Africa.

Friedman reported that pupils receiving low reinforcement showed higher imitative behavior than pupils receiving more frequent reinforcement. Pupils receiving low reinforcement also demonstrated less discrimination between the two types of teaching models. The author suggests that the frequently reinforced pupils were able to exercise more control over when and how they gained reinforcement, while other pupils with higher anxiety identified with the teacher and imitated her verbal behavior in an effort to reduce their classroom anxiety. Theoretically, infrequently reinforced pupils may not yet have attained a sense of positive self-identity and may be reflecting the limited interpretation of their role and their need for the functions of an effective significant other.

Herrmann reports (1972) that a study made with upper elementary students established a significant correlation between teacher approval and peer-ascribed status for pupils but did not establish the relationship between teacher disapproval and pupil status. The correlation between teacher approval and three pupil status variables, acceptance, competence, and power, were higher for girls than for boys. The author reported that the first two variables appeared to have a similar base for both sexes, but the power variable indicated different sources for boys and girls. The power item "fight" correlated .93 with total power for boys, .45 for girls; the power item "nice" correlated .88 with total power for girls, but only .34 for boys. For the pupils of this study, it appears that girls acquired influence over others by being "nice," while the boys acquired their influence by fighting. The author commented that these findings might be explained by the socio-economic status of the sample, which he described as between true middle class and lower class, suburban, and white, with fathers in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. It is not difficult to understand why teacher approval was more often gained from competence, acceptance, and "niceness," but the lack of a correlation between teacher disapproval and these status variables may indicate the teacher's ability to properly interpret the behavioral dialogue according to the behavioral norms of the community, reinforcing those behaviors that were socially approved for girls and boys.

Direct and Indirect Teacher Behavior and Language Behavior of Pupils

The teacher's role as significant other with its functions of reflection and interpretation can be expected to diminish in importance as pupil age and development advances. One area where the importance of the role can be expected to remain, although the style of functioning may change, is in helping pupils understand, express, and interpret their feelings. Early language behaviors are generally self-referent and self-serving. A child communicates what he wants and feels and discusses matters of interest to him. When the young child enters the classroom, his language behaviors are curtailed and controlled for other purposes.

Direct teachers exhibit more controlling behaviors and do most of the talking, whether it's instructional or corrective. Indirect teachers do less talking, and allow more pupil talk. They lecture less when presenting material or giving instructions. There are, of course, limits to everything and teachers who exhibit excessive controlling behaviors drastically limit the behavioral dialogue, while teachers who exercise too little controlling behavior leave pupils without proper interpretation of their role and the guidance necessary for developing behaviors for accomplishing assigned tasks.

It is difficult for pupils to find the necessary self-reflection for self-identity when they become simply reflections of a teacher's demands. It is also difficult to differentiate the self in the limited and focused world of convergent answers and repeated phrases.

A study (Anandam, Davis, & Poppen, 1971) in which third-grade students were encouraged to verbalize their feelings produced two distinct classroom environments. In Group I, pupils were given the opportunity to express feelings and were reinforced by the teacher when they shared their feelings with the class. Group II was involved in a more intensive program of interpersonal skill development with both teacher and peer reinforcement. Measures of self-concept, social dependency, and "individuation" (defined in the study as differentiating the self from others) showed a trend in favor of Group II, but without statistical significance. However, there were significant differences in the two classroom environments which evolved during the course of the two programs. The teacher with Group I used reinforcing behaviors but gradually limited the occasions for student expression of feeling to a particular time of the class day. Group II pursued the program plans with enthusiastic support from both teacher and pupils. At the end of the two programs, measures of pupil involvement in the lesson, measures of teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction, and the amount of individual desk work assigned showed that Group II had significantly increased on the first two measures and decreased in the amount of individual desk work when compared with Group I. Earlier doubts that third-grade pupils would be capable of expressing their feelings verbally were dispelled by the results in both classrooms and the authors also concluded that teachers could have the kind of classroom environment they wanted.

Creating environments and opportunities for children to express their feelings about themselves and others in the classroom is presumed to be an effective way to help pupils develop more positive and realistic self-concepts. Sharing feelings helps identify the self with others and dealing with negative feelings is presumed to be helpful in removing blocks to cognitive and affective processes.

Amato, Ziegler, and Emans (1973) investigated the effectiveness of two methods, storytelling and creative dramatics, as approaches for improving children's interest in reading and reading achievement. Although neither method was found to effect such changes, self-concept and creativity measures taken during the investigation gave some evidence that storytelling may have more influence as a method for improving pupils' self-image and empathy. In this situation, storytelling rather than creative dramatics also appeared to influence creativity. In another study (Carlton & Moore, 1966), a method described as self-directive dramatization of stories was compared with the more traditional method of teaching reading using basal readers. The subjects were predominantly black, culturally disadvantaged elementary school children enrolled in the program for three and one-half months. The reported results indicated a significant gain in reading and favorable changes in self-concept for the pupils in the self-directive dramatization program. In both of these studies, the reportedly more successful technique emphasized the role of the pupil rather than the teacher in selecting and interpreting the content material of each program.

Teacher Behaviors and Pupil Acceptance of Others

Pupils entering the classroom have an operating sense of self-identity that becomes evident in the pupils' behaviors in the classroom. Pupils whose self-in-relation-to-others processes have resulted in very small reference groups "like me" and very large reference groups "unlike me," with value judgments applied to the categories, may find the school environment and school experiences traumatizing. Within the school environment certain self-identity reference groups, reflecting associations with age and sex, already exist. In the course of a pupil's days, other referencing groups will evolve by administrative design or by chance. There are many opportunities in the school environment for experiencing both negative and positive changes in self-concept, through development of individual and group identity, but measures of such changes are difficult to make and the causal circumstances and events are difficult to identify and describe. The argument that placing children in ability groups produces an identifiable "dummy" group with understandably negative affect on the self-concepts of its members is countered by the argument that pupils know who's dumb and who's smart anyway. But do pupils really know who is dumb and who is smart unless pupil behaviors have been interpreted and communicated by teacher behaviors? As a classroom communicator and interpreter, teachers can work to change pupils' concepts of self-identity and the acceptance of pupils as "like" or "unlike" without labels that reflect value judgments. A necessary antecedent to such an undertaking would be the development of perceptual and interpersonal skills on the part of the teacher. The possibilities for improving both knowledge and skills of teachers in this area are discussed in the chapter dealing with teacher self-concept (Bullmer, 1972).

The question as to whether teacher behaviors could have any appreciable effect on pupils' attitudes and acceptance of others receives encouraging affirmation from two sources. First of all, the concept of self and others, "we" and "they," are learned. In a study of international scope, Lambert and Klineberg (1969) investigated the manner in which children acquire their views of "foreign" peoples.

The evidence of their study suggested that children first develop a stereotyped concept of their own group. This concept is formed from broad generalizations of the characteristics of their own group that are used as a comparative base for differentiating other groups. According to these authors, it is not until the age of ten or after that children begin forming stereotypes of foreign peoples, but they also found that, in general, children at the ten-year-old level were more inquisitive and friendly toward foreign peoples compared to the six-year-old and fourteen-year-old sample groups. The variations in children's attitudes across nations indicated that parents and educators used different ways of teaching their children to differentiate their own group from others according to their culture and with significant effect. In a review of the Lambert, et al., and other studies of this subject, Yerxa (1970) supplied several inferences drawn from the evidence that may be helpful to teachers and parents who are interested in developing an acceptance and tolerance of other groups in future citizens. Yerxa suggests that developing the ability to empathize and to objectively examine accepted stereotypes and preformed opinions and attitudes are the two most viable means of increasing acceptance and tolerance among young pupils.

In a study reported by Griggs and Bonney (1970) children from fourth- and fifth-grade classes in two communities were placed in a program designed to teach an understanding of behaviors through "causal understanding." The investigators tested three hypotheses:

(1) Pupils trained with causal understanding would be more accepting of others, (2) they would reduce the discrepancy between self-ideal and self, and (3) they would show improved mental health scores. The results of the tests indicated that pupils receiving the causal understanding training were significantly more accepting of each other (at the .001 level in one community and at the .02 level in the other community). In general, test results of the other two hypotheses were not significant, but did indicate a direction favorable to the experimental group on all measures. The authors commented that this program was used for only one semester and suggested that integrating the program materials throughout the school curriculum and increasing the program duration might bring about more conclusive and positive results.

Helping children develop and exercise the process of differentiating other-group faces was found to be the most effective way of reducing the prejudice scores of second- and sixth-grade children from an integrated public school in a large urban setting (Katz, 1973). Children who had received high prejudice scores on two racial attitude measures were randomly assigned to one of three different training conditions: (1) learning distinctive names for photographs of children of different races, (2) making comparisons of two facial-pair photographs as same or different, and (3) observing faces without labels. The investigator found that there was an interaction between age and experimenter's race that affected the prejudice test scores. The treatment effects were significant when younger children were tested by a black experimenter and when older children were tested by a white experimenter. The author suggested that for the younger children who were accustomed to white teachers, the black tester gave emphasis to the awareness of racial issues. Although the perseverance of the treatment effects were not tested, the investigator felt that the application of learning theory to social problems might be beneficial.

In a large study involving pupils of several races, St. John (1971) reported that those teachers rated high on fairness, which included ratings of "racially fair," "generally fair," and "systematic" contributed to responses of better pupil conduct overall and increased friendliness from white pupils toward other-race classmates.

Blau and Rafferty (1970) reported the results of reinforcement strategies in changing the friendship status of children engaged in cooperative tasks. The effect of the program was to successfully demonstrate that friendships can be developed from bases other than personality characteristics, similarities, and proximity. The investigator suggested that this technique might prove helpful in classes having minority pupils with peer-acceptance difficulties. A similar technique was reported by Lilly (1971) where low sociometric status and low-achieving pupils were paired with popular peers and others in a number of variations to test the effects of such treatment on improving social acceptance. The results reported were positive and significant in immediate gain, but a followup test indicated that the effects did not endure over a six-week period. The investigators suggested that efforts should be made to identify those behavioral variables that lead to unpopularity in order to design more effective treatment.

Pupils who express hostility toward others and who exhibit deviant behavior in the classroom present acceptance problems for teachers. The antecedents for hostile and antisocial behavior are generally found in the pupil's previous relationships and represent coping styles acquired in their previous behavioral dialogues. When the psychological experiences of the developing self are characterized by rejection, lack of understanding, and acceptance so rigidly construed that only minimal and conditional acceptance are ever experienced, the child's self-concept is generally negative and inadequate and social behaviors are generally defensive and socially inadequate. It is difficult for teachers to establish a behavioral dialogue with pupils who bring this concept of self into the classroom. The teacher may be perceived as a symbol of continuing and pervasive threat because of the teacher's position of authority and the role as an effective significant other may be difficult to attain and perform.

Heil and Washburne (1962) classified teachers and pupils into behavioral types and investigated the effects of teacher types on pupil types. These investigators concluded from their study that the orderly, self-contolling teacher type helped all four types of pupils, "conformers," "opposers," "waverers," and "strivers," to develop more positive feelings and to perceive the authority figures as accepting. This teacher type also helped pupils reduce their anxiety and display more friendly behavior toward their classmates. The authors commented that, while these effects were true for all four of their classified pupil types, they were particularly true for pupils who were more negative and hostile.

Teachers cannot change the previous psychological experiences nor control the home and parental environment in which children develop, but there is some evidence that they can provide an alternative interpretation of previous psychological events and an environment with alternative interpretations of the pupil's role which may help to alter the behavior of hostile pupils. Pupils in the classroom are under the constant observation and supervision of a teacher or classmates, or both. Such constant observation may intensify antisocial feelings and behaviors, but these conditions also offer more frequent opportunities for constant and consistent reinforcement of acceptable behaviors. Most teachers, like most parents, find themselves attending more to deviant than acceptable behavior since deviant behavior generally intrudes on their planned purposes. When teachers remind offending pupils that their behavior has intruded upon the "rights" of other pupils to learn in a peaceful environment or to gain a privilege, they may well be positively reinforcing deviant behavior by interpreting a broader-than-intended impact upon the environment, and the attempt to enlist student support may only serve to give stronger dimensions to the role of "class troublemaker." Quarter and Laxer (1970) reported the failure of a program treatment in which experimental subjects with conduct problems, drawn from three suburban junior high schools, were participants in 16 seminar sessions intended to give subjects insight into their own behavior through knowledge of frustration and aggression theories. The leaders of the sessions assumed a dual teacher-counselor role. Results of the study indicated that this particular program failed to obtain predicted changes. The authors commented that the experimental subjects appeared to enjoy being singled out for the treatment, and that this may have strengthened their self-images as troublemakers and reinforced their teachers' impressions of them in that role. Glavin, Quay, and Werry (1971) reported the successful use of positive reinforcement techniques with problem children placed in a special program. The program extended over a two-year period and emphasized positive behavior changes and increased academic achievement. These two objectives were divided between the two years of the program. Results indicate that while both programs made significant changes in pupils' behavior, the program emphasizing more academic achievement also resulted in more behavioral change. The authors suggested that since the purpose of remedial programs is to return pupils to the regular classroom, programs with dual emphases of academic and behavioral remediation deserve further attention.

It may also be hypothesized that programs in which pupils perceive changes in their behavior as a means of gaining new roles that provide increased impact for themselves rather than fulfill adult-assigned roles will be most effective in producing desired behavioral changes.

In another study reported by Stoffer (1970), 35 pupils from grades one through six who were having behavioral problems in the classroom were paired with 35 adult female volunteers in a program designed to increase attention and individual help for the purpose of improving pupil behavior. Measures of "helper" characteristics and pupil perception of the relationship were made and the results indicated that characteristics of non-possessive warmth and accurate empathy related to the pupils' positive perception of the relationship and positive behavioral changes. The author suggested that in order to obtain therapeutic results with any predictability, it would be necessary to train and perhaps screen volunteer helpers, since all volunteers do not possess these characteristics of non-possessive warmth and accurate empathy.

Several other programs for classroom use have been reported that suggest other methods for helping chidren deal with their hostile feelings, and for helping them resolve the conflicts arising in their personal lives and in their roles as students. In a review of program innovations focused on teacher-student relationships and therapeutic group dynamics, Crist (1972) reported the use of several techniques and their outcomes considered successful by the program innovators. Encounter group techniques modified for the classroom were reported as successful in decreasing discipline problems and increasing pupil participation in class activities as well as increasing pupil self-confidence. The use of role-playing, sociodrama, and simulation games reportedly increased pupils' insight into their interpersonal relationships, reduced their prejudices, and increased communication among students and with teachers. Probably most significantly, the most often reported positive program effect of these three techniques was an increase in "teacher insight into pupils."

In concluding this chapter, it will probably be most helpful to the reader if we briefly review the definition for the psychological construct of Self-Identity before we offer any summary conclusions.

Briefly stated, the sense of self-identity develops as the self acquires an awareness of self-differentiated-from-others, a concept of self-in-relation-to-others, and a system of interpreting and communicating the events in his behavioral dialogue. The sense of the bodily self and the cognitive processes of differentiating and associating contribute to the formation of categories from which the concepts and the schema necessary for goal-directed behaviors can develop. The role of the significant other is essentially one of interpreting the events in the behavioral dialogue, defining roles and relationships, and shaping responses. The interpretations of the significant other are products of his idiosyncratic culturally influenced personal experiences. The perceptions of the significant other are contained in the image reflected to the developing self and thus become a part of the developing self's concept of self-identity. Through the interpretations and associations of behavioral events supplied to him, the developing self acquires the verbal language system of his significant others and his social environment. This language system acquired by the developing self forms a partial model of his social system and may not function in other social systems unless additional interpretations and definitions are supplied that relate the events in the new behavioral dialogue and the changed social environment to the existing construct, language, and social systems. In relating to others, the initial experiences of the developing self that influence the trust-mistrust psychological set are manifested on a continuum of behavior registering prevailing acceptance to prevailing hostility.

Present research on the subject of teacher behavior and self-identity development of pupils as we have defined it is not directly approached as such, but is represented in measures of self-concept. In our current system of education there are many conditions which emphasize the importance of the teacher's role as a contributor and controller of the educational environment and as an interpreter of the behavioral events that occur in that environment. The functions of the significant other, while undoubtedly important to the continued psychological development of certain pupils appear to be even more important for pupils with language and culture conflicts.

The limited, sometimes peripheral, and admittedly scattered evidence supplied by the cited research studies does not offer a highway paved with teacher behaviors identified as having a positive effect on a pupil's sense of self-identity, but these studies can still provide some signposts for teachers. There is evidence that teachers can help children acquire an improved sense of self-awareness and self-identity. With increased perception and proficiency in assessment, teachers can help pupils whose previous experiences have limited the development of necessary concepts, or those whose concept development is different from that of the core culture. Teachers can increase pupils' opportunities for experiencing positive psychological events, and help them form more adequate conceptual systems. By modeling accepting and fair behaviors, teachers can supply the needed interpretation and affirmation of the many pupil "selves" in the immediate behavioral dialogue. By exercising proper caution against cultural value judgments, they can also help children relate to others and broaden the reference groups available to them for self-identification.

By increasing the opportunity for pupil self-expression in the classroom, teachers can more adequately perceive the individual pupil and reflect a more total and realistic self-image to each pupil. By applying a sense of appropriate balance, teachers can create a behavioral dialogue allowing pupils to assume more responsibility for interpreting and initiating behavior in the dialogue and, in the process, help them to perceive themselves in broader roles and relationships. By providing a classroom atmosphere of trust and acceptance, they can help pupils share, test, and assess their individual psychological experiences to acquire more helpful and realistic interpretations.

By attending more systematically to positive social behaviors and by helping pupils alter their behavior to achieve mutually determined rather than teacher-assigned roles, the teacher can make a positive contribution to the sense of self-identity prerequisite to the sense of self-esteem, which is the next self construct to be considered.

Chapter V References

Introduction

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CHAPTER VI

Self-Esteem

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Self-Esteem, Self-Evaluation, Self-Reward, Self-Criticism, Cooperation, Competition, Status, and Autonomy

Self-Esteem is the psychological construct representing the application of value judgments to all the other senses of the self; the sense of Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Extension, and Self-Image. This sense of self, which is also called the sense of Self-Value or Self-Worth, could be described as the self's sum of all the recognition and affirmation so far experienced in relationship with others and the environment, with each experience measured by the self's internalized system of values and with his internalized standards. Through the psychological experiences of recognition, the self receives confirmation of his existence and impact, while the psychological experiences of affirmation add a positive or negative quality to the meaning of his existence and the nature of his impact upon others and the environment. The sense of Self-Esteem begins with the value-reflection and interpretation of the developing self by the significant others. According to Erikson, the first experiences are characterized by either acceptance or rejection. With initial acceptance, the developing self acquires a sense of worthiness and value and with initial rejection, the developing self acquires a sense of unworthiness and lack of value. The earliest events of the behavioral dialogue described as "the self experiencing the self" provide the sensations of hunger, pain, discomfort, satiation, ease, comfort, and stimuli from which the senses of self begin to emerge. The feelings of the self become the foundation for feelings about the self as the concept of the objective self, the self as a stimuli, develops.

In the process of acquiring a sense of Self-Identity, the developing self accepts the interpretations of the behavioral dialogue made by the significant others, and in the process of developing a sense of Self-Esteem, the values, standards, and judgments used by the significant other are also indiscriminantly accepted as a part of the interpretation. The interpretations of the significant other and the cognitive processes of association and differentiation enable the developing self to acquire the meaning of certain behaviors as valued by others. This encourages him to acquire and repeat these behaviors. Most of the early behaviors valued by the significant others can be characterized as "how to" behaviors that reflect the social and cultural values and standards of the significant other. As the developing self acquires and imitates the prescribed "how to" behaviors, the reception and reflection of his performance becomes the source of recognition and affirmation from which he derives a sense of Self-Esteem as well as Self-Identity. The behaviors prescribed for serving bodily functions and needs or the social relationships of the home environment are usually well internalized habits and values by the time a child reaches school age. The child generally enters school with a sense of Self-Esteem related to his past experiences and unrelated to his new situation. The already acquired sense of Self-Esteem is vulnerable to the experiences of recognition, confirmation, and affirmation offered in the new environment. The vulnerability of the sense of Self-Esteem offers the most positive and fortuitous circumstances for altering the pupil's sense of Self-Esteem and affecting the pupil's self-concept development through the teacher's functions as significant other and as controller of the classroom environment.

Theoretically, the self as stimulus can be considered a passive source of impact but behaviors and products of the Performing Self (Jersild, 1960) are the primary active sources for achieving impact upon the significant other and the environment. Through the acquisition and mastery of behaviors and skills that have the impact upon the significant other and the environment, the developing self gains a means of acquiring self-esteem. Both the significant other and the environment function in the development of self-esteem as they function in the development of the other senses of self. As previously described, these two sources need not be in concert in order for the performing self to acquire positive self-esteem -- they can offer alternative and even opposing psychological experiences.

The rejected self who receives both a negative reflection of his value and a negative interpretation of his impact upon significant others acquires a negative value of self and low self-esteem. If the environment is hostile as well, the combination of these initial psychological experiences may inhibit the development of the Performing Self and reduce his efforts toward mastering the environment. But the environment may offer opportunities for the Performing Self to master behaviors and skills that have a positive impact on others and would contribute to a positive sense of self-esteem.

The circumstances of the child born into extreme poverty and deprivation can illustrate the alternatives for experiences offered by the environment. His birth may be unwelcome and his presence rejected by the significant others in his behavioral dialogue, and his developing self may be negatively reflected and interpreted. But physical survival and maturation can place him in an environment where he quickly acquires those behaviors and skills from which he can derive a positive self-image and positive self-esteem. On very primary but sufficing levels he may be able to obtain shelter and food, and be able to dress and care for himself. He might curl up in a corner for sleep, grab a piece of bread for food, and pull on the single pair of pants allotted to him. His explorations and assaults upon his environment may be judged as successful or unsuccessful by a jury of his peers with whom he can cooperate or against whom he can compete in order to achieve further impact upon and mastery of his environment. The values acquired from his environment require very little interpretation and the standards exacted stay within his abilities and performance level. By his acquired standards and values he is not "disadvantaged" nor is he "underpriveleged." He is able to perform, to compete, to achieve, to behave independently, and to acquire status. His self-rewards reinforce his behavior, and from the environmental reflection of his positive impact, he gains a sense of self-esteem.

On the other hand, a child born into accepting and welcoming circumstances with security and advantages may well receive a positive reflection and interpretation of himself and his impact from his significant others, but the environment may prove to be the source of prolonged dependence, frustration, and hostility for the developing self. The behaviors and skills to be acquired as "how to" processes from which the Performing Self derives a sense of self-esteem can be very complicated in this environment. Eating may require tools and precise behaviors, dressing may be complicated by matching, selecting, buttoning, tying, right and wrong sides, back and front sides, and in addition, all efforts to perform may be subject to the judgment and appraisal of significant others. Investigation and exploration of the environment may be restricted and supervised, and many interesting or exciting moments may be subject to interruption, and a daily agenda may be imposed upon the developing self by significant others. The prolonged period required for attaining mastery of behaviors and skills to meet simple and basic needs can contribute to an extended period of dependence, delayed autonomy, a sense of inadequacy, and a negative reflection of the impact of the Performing Self upon the environment, resulting in low self-esteem. Studies that have encountered the dilemma of explaining higher self-esteem in culturally "disadvantaged" children than in culturally "advantaged" subjects have offered similar explanations (Soares & Soares, 1969).

Behaviors that express the recognition, confirmation, and affirmation of others confer a sense of positive worth and value essential to a sense of positive self-esteem. The teacher is in a position to express all of these behaviors toward each pupil, regardless of his personal characteristics and academic potential. As a controller of the classroom environment, the teacher is in a position to create a psychologically safe arena that offers experiences of positive impact and opportunities for constructive and productive self-evaluation. Of all the self-constructs, pupil self-esteem derived from the psychological experiences occurring in the behavioral dialogue of the learning situation, and dependent upon the value judgments and interpretations of the teacher, is the most amenable to the positive impact and influence of the teacher.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Self-Evaluation

Self-esteem is acquired by a process of self-evaluation during which the self judges the effects of his impact upon significant others and the environment according to his acquired values and standards. The process of self-evaluation begins long before a pupil reaches the school room, and the evidences of high or low self-esteem that appear in the school environment generally have their origins in previous psychological experiences. The change in environment and the extension of the pupil's behavioral dialogue, however, offer possibilities for new psychological experiences which will ultimately affect the level of self-esteem existing at the time the school experience began. Pupils who have successfully engineered their way through life to that point may encounter problems in the school situation because their previous experiences have not equipped them with the concepts, values and behavioral schemas that are necessary for success in the classroom.

The most dominant value operating in the educational system is the value for academic achievement. In the behavioral dialogue of the classroom, the significant or salient other gives a daily interpretation of this value to the other participants in the dialogue. The standards of academic performance are applied to measure the pupil's potential for academic achievement as well as his daily academic performance and academic products of each pupil. The reflected image of self and the measure of successful impact upon significant others and the environment are permeated with the values and standards of academic achievement.

The possibilities for acquiring self-esteem within this operating value system depend upon the pupil's ability to relate to the value system and the teacher's ability to create psychological experiences within this environment that will help each developing self recognize and affirm himself as an achiever. When achievement and achieving is situationally defined as the acquisition of academic behaviors and skills, it is difficult for the developing self to evaluate his impact on this environment unless he accepts the value judgments of the significant other in the situation. It is also essential that the developing self acquire academic behaviors and skills in order to be reflected as an achiever, and when standards for achievement are applied as well, it becomes necessary to perform at defined levels of mastery to be adjudged and reflected as an achiever.

There will be pupils in the classroom who have a low potential for academic achievement. They may acquire a strong value for the approval obtained by making arduous and continuous effort. There are also pupils who have a good potential for academic achievement, but may have conflicting values and concepts that exclude academic performance as a means of deriving self-esteem. The pupil who is unable to continue his previously successful impact upon his environment in accordance with his internalized system of values may suffer a reversal of his self-esteem in the new situation. Other pupils may have had so few experiences affirming their abilities as achievers with positive impact on their environment that, in spite of potential, they simply cannot risk the continual evaluation and judgment constantly operating in the new situation.

High achievers, those who have good potential and match their potential to their performance, or those who have less potential, but excel through performance, are rewarded by the value system operating in the classroom. Low achievers, those who have low potential and make little effort, or those who make a great deal of effort, are either not rewarded or rewarded for performances other than academic achievement. It is the underachiever who is most disconcerting to teachers and educators, and it is the underachiever who is usually the subject of research that seeks to examine the relationship between a pupil's academic performance and his self-esteem.

Theoretically, the first step in acquiring a value for academic achievement as a source of self-esteem is to acquire recognition and affirmation of the self as an achiever with positive impact upon significant others and the environment. In order to make this first step, pupils may need to be given psychological experiences from which they can acquire a new basis for self-evaluation and experiences in which the values and standards operating are clearly understood so that they can be used by the pupil to evaluate his own performance. The second step is to help pupils acquire the skills for evaluating their own performances so that they can acquire confirmation and affirmation from their achievements, and self-esteem from the impact of their performances upon the environment.

Recognition of the self as an achiever and as one having positive impact upon the environment may be only a matter of allowing pupils to express their feelings and examine their performances in the presence of attentive and supportive others. To acquire affirmation of the self as an achiever, pupils need to perform under the guidance and application of understood standards, and to receive clear, evaluating, but non-judgmental, feedback.

Although the study undertaken by Stimpson and Pedersen (1970) contains a sample too small for generalizeable results, it is our opinion that the program treatment designed for this study could be applied to a larger sample with perhaps more substantial results. In this study, a group of eight underachieving high school males were given a three-week survival training experience in relation to their counseling program. The survival experience was designed to focus directly on the evaluation of the subjects' relationships with their parents, their peers, and their self-assessments. Pretests and posttests on these three relationships were made. The analysis of the test results indicated a significant and positive increase in self and parent evaluation, although the scores for peer evaluation did not alter significantly from test to test. Underlying the design of this treatment was the hypothesis that failure in school, conflict in family relationships, and poor peer relationships are major contributing factors to the underachieving syndrome. A survival training program such as this would appear to have potential for operationalizing psychosocial theories of self-concept development. The stated purpose of the program expresses an unconditional value for each individual in the program, and the structure of the program can be made to replicate the conditions of a behavioral dialogue in order to facilitate positive self-concept development. The events of the training program can be arranged to provide the psychological experiences that will foster a realistic and positive sense of the bodily self, of self-identity, and of self-esteem. The counselor or trainer in the program can perform the functions of the significant other in the behavioral dialogue, and would be in a position to demonstrate the value of guidance and interpretation, as well as the need to acquire skills and goal-directed behaviors, the rewards of mastery, and the essential role realistic evaluation and feedback from the self and others play in achieving a positive impact upon the environment.

On the basis of theory, we could predict that a program structured to replicate the behavioral dialogue would produce changes in the evaluation of parental roles and relationships and in self-evaluation measures. However, unless the program was also structured to extend the roles of the participators into salient others who also performed guiding, interpreting, evaluating, and feedback roles for each other, no changes in peer relationships could be predicted. It would remain to be seen if constructs and behaviors acquired under such a program could be generalized to the classroom environment. It would also be a question whether pupils in such programs could develop a perception of the teacher as a significant other who, like the counselor, guides and evaluates the pupil's acquisition of knowledge and mastery of skills. To explore the possibilities of such programs, teachers and school administrators might work in conjunction with the many organizations that offer camping experiences for school-aged young people. School-associated organizations and physical education programs might also devise several ways of incorporating these theoretical concepts into their activities and programs. If a program, its implementation process, and the execution of planned treatments were carefully observed and recorded along with appropriate pretest and posttest measures, the data thus obtained could contribute to educational research and educational programming in the affective domain.

Catron (1966) reported the success of educational-vocational counseling in bringing about more positive self-evaluation (self-perception) measured by a Q-sort technique. The pupils involved in the study were normal high school students interested in college and career counseling. In conjunction with a counselor training program, the experimental subjects were placed in small groups and participated in fourteen counseling sessions. Control subjects were selected from students attending regular summer school courses at the local high schools which were also attended by the experimental subjects. Experimental and control subjects were matched by sex, grade, age, and SCAT (School and College Ability Test) total scores. The authors suggested that the process of talking through problems and concerns allowed the experimental pupils first to identify with the group and attain conforming security, and subsequently to leave the security of the group with a more positive sense of self-differentiated-from-others at the end of the counseling sessions.

A similar program of discussion seminars offered to underachievers with above-average intelligence was reported to have had positive results in that participating pupils obtained higher grades than pupils in the established control groups (Freeman & Craig, 1967). The program's success was also indicated by the fact that more of the seminar members continued their education after high school. According to the authors, the purpose of the discussion groups was to help pupils gain a positive concept of their self-worth and to help them find satisfaction in purposeful and meaningful activities through the opportunity to air their problems and grievances in a non-judgmental, non-graded situation.

Werblo and Torrance (1966) investigated the effects of using an historical research technique to improve the self-evaluation accuracy of high achieving pupils with above-average intelligence. Torrance reported that on pre-measures of self-evaluation these pupils showed a tendency to undervalue their abilities. The subjects were taught the concept of historical research and were given experiences in collecting data and then interpreting, evaluating, and using the data to make projections. On the posttest, these pupils reflected a greater accuracy in their self-evaluations of their abilities on three variables: reading speed, size of vocabulary, and curiosity.

Whether the pupil's problem is one of achievement in academic, physical, or social areas, it appears that all pupils have problems with accurate and positive self-evaluation in general. The reported successes of various program treatments offer several theoretically consistent clues. All successful treatments contained an overt focus on the acquisition of skills for the evaluating processes, the use of adult leadership with an emphasis on sympathetic and non-judgmental attention to pupils, and provisions for positive and objective feedback to the pupils using criteria that were understood and accepted by pupils and leaders.

Teacher Evaluation of Pupils and Pupil Self-Evaluation

The teacher's role as an evaluator is usually considered only in the light of his "grading" function, and students often characterize teachers as "hard" or "easy" graders. Students also comment on what they perceive to be the biases teachers exhibit rather than the criteria teachers use in grading the work of pupils. Most research on the teacher's role as an evaluator is related to comparing the accuracy of teachers' assessments of pupil potential with pupils' actual performances on standardized achievement tests. In addition to reporting a pupil's academic achievement, pupil report cards often include the teacher's evaluation of the pupil in comments such as "is working to capacity," "works well with others," "does neat work," or "shows initiative." A study by Willis (1972), reported by Brophy and Good, identified the criteria most commonly used by teachers in assessing pupil potential for academic achievement and found that "attention to the teacher," "level of maturity as assessed by the teacher," "self-confidence," and "ability to work without supervision" had the highest correlation with the teacher's ability to assess pupil performance accurately.

From the data supplied by the Willis study, Brophy and Good concluded that teachers' demonstrated ability to assess or evaluate pupil potential for academic performance with an impressive degree of accuracy is due to their use of relevant, that is, reliable and appropriate, criteria. A teacher's initial assessment of pupil potential made before the teacher has had access to other information, or time to observe and interact with the student, appears to be more strongly related to the four criteria for assessing pupil academic achievement identified by Willis. Teacher assessments made later during the study indicated that certain personality characteristics of pupils not directly related to academic achievement were being included by these teachers as assessment criteria. As the school year progressed and the teachers were reinforced in their earlier assessments, they also showed a tendency to perceive their successful pupils more positively and their unsuccessful pupils more negatively.

The research study reported by Gordon and Wood (1963) investigated the congruence between pupils' self-ratings on a fifteen-item, school related self-perception scale, and teachers' ratings of the sample subjects on the same scale. Each pupil also estimated his own performance score on a standard achievement test for comparison with the teacher's predicted score for each pupil. A positive correlation was found between teacher-pupil agreement on the self-perception instrument and a pupil's accuracy in estimating his achievement test score, although the number of subjects who were actually accurate in their estimates was very small. The direction of the scores toward over-estimating or underestimating were consistent for both pupils and teachers on both instruments.

Teachers were, however, more accurate in their estimates of pupil performance, but were not able to predict the way their pupils would perceive themselves or estimate their own ability with much success. The data did not indicate any sex differences in pupil test scores for teacher-pupil congruency on the self-perception measures or pupil estimate of ability scores.

The authors commented that there appeared to be an "over-reaction" operating in that when a teacher overestimated a pupil a little, that pupil also overestimated himself, but to a greater extent. Teacher-pupil disagreement appeared to be related to perceptual distortion, but in the same direction for both teacher and pupil. In general, the pupil subjects exhibited no more tendency to overestimate than underestimate their abilities.

In further consideration of the "over-reaction" demonstrated by these pupils, the authors suggested that this might reflect the pupil's exaggerated self-perception acquired from the teacher's communicated perception of the pupil. We might also consider the possibility of an "over-reaction" in teacher responses. The possibility exists that a teacher's objectivity in perceiving and evaluating pupils may be sharpened when the teacher's performance is to be examined by an outside agent. Such conditions may also have a "tempering" effect on teacher responses so that teacher and pupil ratings would maintain the same direction but increased objectivity or tempering in teacher scores would increase the variance between pupil ratings and teacher ratings, with pupil ratings reflecting the more extreme scores.

Meichenbaum, Bowers, and Ross (1969) reported in their study investigating the effect of teacher expectations on pupil academic performance that gains in academic improvement were indicated on objective tests scored by the teachers, but that when subjective tests were scored by these teachers there was no indication of improvement in the academic performances of the target pupils. In other words, if objective tests had not been used to assess change in the academic performance of the sample subjects, there would not have been a positive and significant correlation between the observed changes in teacher behavior toward these target pupils and the pupils' increased achievements.

These studies, when considered together, suggest that teacher experience and the use of appropriate criteria are two important factors contributing to teacher accuracy in assessing the academic potential of pupils, particularly when referenced to measures of specific learning tasks on objective and/or standardized tests. On the other hand, pupil judgments for predicting their performance scores must be referenced to their past performances in particular subject areas and their perceived academic rank in the classroom. Both of these pupil reference criteria have been products of the teacher's evaluation of pupil performance. It seems likely that pupils who significantly overestimate or underestimate their performance may be reflecting the teacher's more subjective evaluation of their performances experienced on a day-to-day basis in the classroom.

Assessing and evaluating pupil products and pupil performances represent a large part of the teacher's functions. The quality of the teacher's performance of these two functions contributes appreciably to the teacher's professional standing and the teacher's self-esteem. But even more importantly, the quality of these two functions determinesin a large part how the teacher performs as a significant other, and, therefore, how the teacher affects the self-esteem of his pupils. The criteria identified as significant and appropriate in predicting pupil performance are assessments of pupil behavior and level of maturation. These criteria are useful to the significant other, not as the image of self to be reflected to the pupil, but as an indication as to where the behavioral dialogue between teacher and pupil is beginning. Assessment is an evaluation process that should be used by teachers to determine what experiences must be offered and what interpretations must still be supplied to the developing self.

Teachers who reflect pupil attention to the teacher with teacher attention, and lack of pupil attention with lack of teacher attention, or teachers who reflect pupil self-confidence by placing confidence only in confident pupils, and pupils' lack of self-confidence by not placing confidence in those pupils, are not functioning as adequate significant others. Teachers who reinforce and perpetuate immature behaviors by reflecting the pupil's lack of maturity and inability to work without supervision cannot function as adequate and facilitating significant others.

There is no disguising the fact that academic achievement is offered as the prime goal of the classroom, and achieving behavior is the most valued behavior. To maintain or enhance pupil self-esteem in the classroom the teacher's evaluative skills should be directed toward diagnosis rather than prognosis. The teacher's ability to estimate the academic potential of a pupil should be a means for helping pupils set realistic goals and determining what skills and information the pupil needs to attain his goals. Pupil self-esteem can then be derived from the positive impact of the pupil's progress and achievement and the value placed by the significant other upon the pupil's products and performances.

Teacher Behavior as a Model for Pupil Self-Criticism and Self-Reward

Most pupils think of evaluation as synonomous with "test" or "criticism," an understanding also prevalent among the general population. Pupils are also likely to consider "self-evaluation" as synonomous with "self-criticism" without the more positive aspects of "self-reward" which should also arise from constructive self-evaluation. With this misunderstanding of the term, those pupils who stand to gain the most from proper self-evaluation are most inclined to fear and avoid it. Pupils who have acquired their concepts of social roles and social behaviors in environments differing from the middle-class school environment may need help in acquiring the concepts and behaviors necessary for maintaining self-esteem in the new environment. Not knowing what to do nor how to do it, not understanding the basis for "right" or "wrong" decisions in a specific situation, can keep some pupils from interacting and gaining self-esteem from successful social experiences. Pupils who proceed to interact with what are considered improper and unacceptable behaviors are often forced to pay the toll in reduced self-esteem. Self-evaluation should not be considered a static judgmental process, but a formative process through which pupils can acquire concepts and behaviors necessary for enhancing self-esteem. Techniques that are considered effective in assisting pupils to acquire concepts and behaviors through self-evaluation have been the subject of research studies for several years.

Liebert and Ora (1968) tested the hypothesis that pupils trained either by direct or modeling procedures reward themselves on the basis of their performance according to the standard they have been taught and will still retain that standard as a reference point even when they reward themselves for substandard performances. The investigators also hypothesized that the value of the reward to be obtained will influence the degree to which subjects adhere to prescribed standards for behavior. The study provided conditions for comparing direct training, modeling procedures, and no-training behaviors in high and low reward incentive circumstances. Seventy-two pupils, 36 boys and 36 girls, 8 to 10 years of age, were drawn from an elementary school in a large urban area. Experimental pupils were taught either directly or by modeling procedures to reward themselves with a plastic token for obtaining a score of 20 on a small bowling game. The low reward incentive group simply played for tokens, but the high incentive group were informed that they would be able to exchange their tokens for some desirable prizes shown to them prior to testing. Both the direct training and modeling procedure groups were given verbal cues of the standards for performance reward, but the control group simply observed a demonstration of how to play the game without being verbally cued to standards for reward. After training, all subjects were allowed to play the game without apparent supervision. The results of the investigation supported the hypothesis that pupils trained either directly or by modeling procedures would demonstrate an adherence to reward standards significantly more often than the control group. The high incentive group also demonstrated significantly more frequent self-reward for substandard performance. As an application of their findings, the authors suggested that the basis for predicting individual behavior according to self-imposed standards prescribed by society should also include a consideration of the reward incentive conditions in which the behavior will occur. In other words, highly moral people can encounter situations where they are overwhelmed by temptation and temporarily reduce their moral standards. In an extension of this study, Liebert, Hanratty, and Hill (1969) examined the effectiveness of oral communication in helping pupils acquire and internalize standards. They found that subjects who had been given the strongest statement of the standard, including expressions of "deservingness" and approval, maintained a significantly stronger adherence to the rules for self-rewarding in the absence of observers. The authors suggested that these results provide strong evidence of the effectiveness of verbal communication in helping children adopt self-imposed standards.

There is a distinct difference between self-reward and self-indulgent behaviors. Self-reward behaviors are contingent upon a performance standard. As a technique for acquiring and reinforcing desirable behaviors, it is logical that self-reward will only be effective when the standards are understood and the required performance is possible. Examining performance in relation to a standard is evaluative and examining a performance to determine how to bring it up to the standard is productive, positive and formative self-criticism. The classroom supplies a surfeit of performances that pupils can use to develop productive self-evaluation and positive self-criticism. However, since pupils' acquaintance with self-criticism has generally been construed as taking responsibility in the form of "blame," most teachers will be left with the task of placing a positive meaning on self-criticism. Pupils who can acquire a feeling of mastery by controlling and directing their performances toward achieving desired goals also have an opportunity to increase their self-esteem and acquire the highly valued attribute of responsibility. The problems of instilling a positive form of self-criticism in subjects have only been lightly touched by research, but there have been reports on this subject from investigators that may encourage interested teachers to attempt to teach and implement the skills of self-reward and self-criticism in their classrooms.

Herbert, Gelfand, and Hartmann (1969) investigated the effects of modeling behavior on the self-critical behavior of pupils. Fourth-grade students, 20 boys and 20 girls, were drawn from a middle-class public school and were given two pretest measures of self-esteem and self-concept. The subjects were also given an instrument on which they predicted the score each felt he would make on the experimental bowling game to be played. Each subject assigned to the modeling condition viewed a same-sex model who relinquished a token for each score of 0 and 5 and made self-critical comments about his low score. No-model subjects were simply instructed on how to play the game. Scoring on the game was controlled by the experimenter and all players made the same score on the same pre-set sequence of points. Subjects who were in the modeling condition did imitate the model and relinquished tokens for low scores. Their imitation of the model's self-critical commenting was also found to be statistically significant. On the basis of the pretests, subjects had been divided into high and low self-esteem groups. None of the three measures of self-esteem differentiated the subjects on their token relinquishing behavior, and no significant relationship was found between the self-critical behavior and self-esteem. The authors reported that the internal consistency of the self-concept inventory measure and the low, but reliable, intercorrelations between performance ratings and scores on the inventory test compared with behavior on the bowling task. The other self-esteem measure used did not relate to the dependent variables or to the other self-esteem tests.

Thelen (1970) investigated the retention of acquired imitative verbal responses to failure after a lapse of seven months. The first testing situation involved 56 subjects; the second, or follow-up, testing involved 38 subjects, 10, 11, and 12 years of age from two denominational elementary schools. The subjects of the first test were placed in four model situations: positive consequences (the experimenter would say "Oh, you're doing fine," in response to models' self-blame statements), no consequences (no experimenter response to self-blame statements), negative consequences (experimenter would agree with self-blame statements), and control. Experimental subjects viewed a model sorting cards under timed conditions. Incompletion of the task was planned for specific trials and at these particular times, the model would make self-blame statements in accordance with the modeling conditions. The investigator would respond to the model's statements with positive, negative, or no response in accordance with the research design. Each subject then sorted cards under the conditions of his model set. The reported results of the first test showed significant differences between the four groups and the self-blame response frequency, and demonstrated that the three experimental groups made significantly more self-blame responses than the controls. In the follow-up study, subjects were asked to play the game again, but the model conditions for the positive and negative model groups were not repeated. The No Comment group and the controls were actually performing under the same response conditions provided for them in the first test. The follow-up results showed no overall differences between the four groups in the number of self-blame comments. However, two of the experimental groups, the No Consequence group and the Negative Consequence group, made significantly more self-blame comments ($p < .025$ and $p < .05$, respectively) than the control group. The three experimental groups also maintained the ranking established in the first test on frequency of self-blame comments. The most self-blame comments were obtained from the Negative Consequences group followed by the No Consequences group and last by the Positive Consequences group, although as we have already noted, the differences between the treatment groups did not attain significance in the follow-up testing.

These studies, together with two other studies from which similar results can be extrapolated (Grusec and Ezrin, 1972;

Aronfreed, Cutick and Fagen, 1963) indicate that pupils are influenced by and do imitate specific behaviors as a result of both modeling and verbalizing procedures. From our perspective, however, these studies more dramatically demonstrate the potential for abuse inherent in the power of modeling and verbalizing in shaping the behaviors of pupils, and most particularly when shaping the self-evaluative and self-criticizing behaviors of pupils. The potential for abuse can be clearly seen if we consider the results and events occurring in the following studies of the acquisition of self-criticizing behaviors and not the investigators' interpretations of the events and results.

Grusec and Ezrin (1972) prepared an experimental treatment for 80 kindergarten and first-grade pupils to investigate the effects of different punishing behaviors on the development of "self-criticism." The subjects were evenly and randomly assigned to four treatment conditions: (1) "High Warmth," in which the experimenter established rapport with the subject, (2) "Low Warmth," in which the experimenter remained aloof from subjects, (3) "High Value," in which subjects were allowed to exchange the tokens remaining after the game for a prize, and (4) "Low Value," in which subjects were told that the tokens would be used in playing the game, but it would not matter how many tokens were still held at the end of the game. The game consisted of a small closed box fitted with three flats on which miniature evergreen trees were attached, and a rod with a toy bulldozer attached. The experimenter could alternate the three flats to give different, or the impression of different, tree arrangements. The subject was told to push the bulldozer through the box, trying not to hit any trees. "If you bump into too many trees, you will hear a buzzer. That buzzer means that you are a 'bumper' and that's the worst thing you can be in this game" (p. 1278-79). The subject was required to push the bulldozer through the box 18 times without ever seeing what he was doing. The experimenter applied the buzzer to eight preselected trials, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, and 14. With the first punished trial, (2), the experimenter implemented the punishment mode and elicited "self-criticizing" statements from the subject as follows: For punishment in the "Withdrawal of Love-Induction" condition (translation--experimenter ceases to behave genially toward the subject and gives a reason for the change in the behavior), the experimenter called the subject a "bumper" and announced that she was not happy with the performance of the subject, lowered her head and looked at the subject with a "distressed" facial expression. If the subject did not respond within 15 seconds, he was asked what had happened and asked to explain why the experimenter was unhappy. If these questions failed to elicit a response, two more attempts were made to get the subject to admit being a "bumper." If he still didn't make the proper response, he was reminded that he was a "bumper" and the trials continued. In the "Withdrawal of Material Reward" condition, the experimenter demanded the return of chips and asked the question, "Can you tell me why you lost the chips?" For the "Self-Criticism Reinforced" condition the punishing treatment ended as soon as the subject called himself a "bumper," and the experimenter then added comments about how happy it made her that the subject had admitted "bumping." In the comments the investigator made references to the length of time it took the subject to respond properly. In the material reward condition, the investigator returned chips along with the reinforcing statements. The condition for "Self-Criticism Not Reinforced" required the experimenter to wait after the subject made self-critical comments, or to wait for several seconds after each trial and if no comment was forthcoming, the experimenter looked unhappy, did not return any chips and told the subject to resume play. After trials that were not punished, the experimenter would praise the subject's performance.

As a final condition, all subjects were left to finish the last eight trials in the absence of the experimenter, who went next door to observe the subjects through a one-way mirror and continued to manipulate the buzzer by an extension wire. After four or five more trials, the experimenter returned and ended the game by giving prizes to all the subjects.

The results of this study indicated that all subjects who had been reinforced for their "self-criticizing" behavior, increased this behavior with each trial and continued this behavior in the "absence" of the observer. The difference in the behavior of the reinforced subjects and the non-reinforced subjects was statistically significant. This study, and those of Herbert, et al., Thelen, and Aronfreed, et al., are not focused on self-criticism as a positive and formative process, but as an inculcation or assumption of guilt. The subjects had no way of relating their performance to the results, i.e., the same performance achieved two opposing results. In addition, subjects had no way of evaluating or improving their performance, i.e., they could not stop "hitting too many trees," nor could any subject establish a reasoned basis for assuming responsibility for his behaviors. Yet, these subjects could be coerced into accepting a label and exhibiting a behavior on the basis of a "significant other's" (the experimenter, in this instance) interpretation of their role and performances. Reinforcement is a form of underscoring the interpretation of the behavior.

These experimenters had only brief and unique relationships with the subjects. Teachers, who have stronger and longer relationships with pupils, who also are in the significant other's position of interpreting behaviors, providing standards, and reinforcing both their interpretations of pupil behavior and the standards imposed, need to be alert to the power and potential of their roles and the possible misuse of their power.

Although the teacher generally assumes the role of positive reinforcer in the classroom, there is some research evidence that pupils can be taught to assume part of this function for themselves through programs that help them acquire self-rewarding behaviors and through a specific technique called self-talk.

Half of the teachers of grades 1 through 6 from 8 inner-city, predominantly black schools were given 12 weeks of training to help them help pupils to develop adequate bases for judging their own behavior. The program also trained teachers to model behaviors and to help pupils implement self-rewarding behaviors (Felker, Stanwyck, and Kay, 1973). The remaining first- through sixth-grade teachers were used as controls to test the effects of this program on the pupils. Pretests were given in 59 classes and posttests were given in 102 classes. The results indicated that pupil self-concept was enhanced in the experimental classes and that pupil anxiety was also reduced in program participants. According to the investigators, program results were confounded by the enthusiastic exchange of ideas between participants and non-participants, which resulted in less than ideal control circumstances for isolating the effects of the program. The investigators felt that the program was actually more effective than the measures indicated. In another study by Felker and Stanwyck (1971), 88 fourth-grade pupils of a middle-class, predominantly white school, were given a general measure of self-concept and a test measuring specific self-evaluation after subjects performed an academic task. This test asked children to identify the statements they would make to themselves after performing an academic task. Each statement was coded for its positive content. Pupils who had higher self-concept scores on the global measure also scored higher on positive self-talk. The relation between global self-concept and positive self-talk was established on these measures, but no relationship was established between actual performance scores on the academic task and the self-concept measure. The investigators suggested that pupils could be trained for positive self-talk as a self-reinforcing behavior, but suggested that additional study is needed to understand the relationship of self-talk techniques to self-concept development.

A great deal of additional study is needed before we can acquire an adequate understanding of the effects of self-reward, self-criticism, modeling, self-talk, and self-evaluation in the classroom. But the classroom, the gymnasium, and the school playground are logical places to implement programs that teach children to evaluate, criticize, and reward their own behaviors and products as a means of improving performances and enhancing their sense of self-esteem.

Teacher Behaviors and Pupil Status Related to Self-Esteem

As a source of continual personal measurement and rank-ordering, the school environment is pretty well without a rival in our society.

The pupil lives in constant awareness of his standing with teachers and peers derived from daily feedback on the impact of his Performing Self on the academic and social systems of the school world. Some positions acquired in the two systems remain fairly stable, others are subject to wide fluctuations. It is usually assumed that all standings contribute to the pupil's sense of self-esteem and his broader construct of self-concept, but measures of self-esteem related to status within a particular reference group require careful interpretation. The interaction between status and self-esteem is only relevant when status is desired and the reference group or standard is valued by the self. Low economic status and low academic status do not necessarily predict low self-esteem for the individual pupil.

It is the business of the educational system to inculcate values for academic achievement and social status as a reward for achievement in the school population, and when pupils acquire values without status, or more properly, acquire low status, the interaction can affect the pupil's self-esteem. As a practical matter, then, if desired status cannot be achieved, it is best not to acquire the value. But if high status can be achieved or ascribed, it is safe to acquire the value or standards to which it is referenced.

The pupil who enters school with already developed values for education and socialization is, theoretically, provided with the motivation to achieve status. Webster (1965) found support in his study for a significant and positive relationship between experimental subject's reports of their mother's academically supportive behaviors on their behalf when they were between the ages of six and ten and the scores of these subjects related to physical and intellectual self-esteem measures when they were high school adolescents. The relationship was higher for girls than boys, but was significant and positive for both sexes. The subjects for this study were 311 black adolescents from three integrated high schools of a large urban area. The source of information for maternal behaviors was the remembered experience of the subjects. The investigator, suspecting a possible bias of social desirability in remembered experiences, correlated the reported maternal behaviors with the socioeconomic level of the subject on the general assumption that higher socioeconomic status families do exhibit more concern and support for their children's academic achievement. The coefficients for the maternal behavior variable, father's occupation, and parental levels of education all attained levels of statistical significance greater than the .01 level of confidence. Although maternal behaviors and measures of self-perception were positively related for both boys and girls, maternal behaviors and the future aspirations of the subjects were related significantly only for boys. The investigator suggested that the cultural expectations for the girls as future wives and mothers may have influenced the loss of significance, while the supportive behaviors of the mothers produced higher aspirations for the future in their sons.

In a study reported by Wechsler (1971) a program of group counseling for the mothers of underachievers was implemented as a means of improving the self-concepts of underachievers. Twenty mothers with sons in the fourth and fifth grade who were considered underachievers were involved in group counseling sessions and were matched with twenty mothers of underachieving sons in the same grades who were not receiving the counseling. There were no differences in the two groups indicated by pretest measures of self-concept, ideal self, self-acceptance, perceived maternal attitude, and perceived maternal-acceptance. Posttest measures indicated a significant difference between the experimental and control pupils on measures of self-acceptance and measures of the reduction of discrepancy between the ideal self and perceived self. Followup measures made three weeks later and six weeks later revealed a sustained improvement in the self-acceptance scores and perceived maternal acceptance among the boys whose mothers had received the group counseling. The author suggested that group counseling would be an effective means of raising the self-concept levels of underachieving pupils. It would also appear to be a possible program goal for school-supporting organizations working in cooperation with school administrators and teachers.

Attempts to enhance pupil status through direct program intervention have been reported as successful by a number of investigators. Halpin, Halpin, and Hartley (1972) reported the effects of guidance programs on the status of second-grade pupils. The study was made using a sample of 95 second-grade students randomly selected from five second-grade classes in five rural communities in the southeast. The subjects of this predominantly white sample population were divided into five groups. Four groups received varying treatments and one group was retained as a control. On the basis of sociometric testing, two of the treatment groups were reseated in accordance with their reported preferences, the other two treatment groups were not reseated. Two guidance activities a week were given to one reseated group and to one group without seating change. One guidance activity a week was given to the remaining two groups. At the beginning of the study, a choice-rejection status score was obtained for each pupil. This score represented the difference between the number of choices and the number of rejections each pupil received from his classmates. Post treatment scores indicated that there was a significant difference in the choice-rejection gain of the four treatment groups. The groups receiving two guidance activities each week showed significantly more gain than the control group. The gains of the two groups receiving only one guidance activity a week were not significantly different from the gain of the control group. The significance of the reseating process was lost when teachers felt compelled to change the seating again due to excessive student talking and some additional confounding occurred as a result of counselor and guidance activity variables. The results, however, demonstrated the positive effect of two guidance activities per week on the sociometric status of second grade pupils in this situation. A related study by Blain and Ramirez (1968) found that sociometric rank could be altered by interaction and reinforcement. Data from 177 fourth- and fifth-grade pupils indicated that when children were given the opportunity to interact with classmates who were ranked as social "isolates," the pupils ranked the isolates higher on posttest measures. However, pupil awareness of the isolates measured by the number of associations made with their names increased only when interactions with the isolates had been accompanied by reinforcement from the experimenter.

Finney and Van Dalsem (1969) found that group counseling with gifted but underachieving pupils during their sophomore and junior years resulted in significant and positive changes in these gifted subjects on measures of particular personality and psycho-social characteristics. However, the counseling program did not appear to affect the grade-point average of the subjects. Pupils showed improvement on measures of social poise and particularly on measures of independent thought and action. The investigators interpreted the measure of independent action as representing a quality that would bring success in a number of human activities. It is interesting to note that these subjects did not improve on measures of social conformity. The investigators emphasized that these changes were brought about under circumstances and with resources that are commonly available in the school situation. The data also suggested that the long-term counseling period is imperative for effecting change in the high school age group; and, while these reported changes may be described as modest, the investigators considered them to be changes that would enhance the lives of these subjects in the future as well.

A study which investigated the effects of age-group membership on sociometric nominations based on scholarship, leadership, and popularity, found that teachers' assumptions about classroom status structures can be erroneous (Ahlbrand and Reynolds, 1972). Ability grouping across grade levels often produces a wide range of student ages within groups, creating more distance between the designated "younger" and "older" groups. Using 162 pupils from a classroom combining some fourth- and sixth-grade pupils with the fifth grade, the investigators examined the effects of this grade and age mix upon the sociometric nominations received by the pupils in the classroom. The older pupils and younger pupils gave a considerably larger number of positive nominations to the older pupils on leadership, scholarship, and popularity. The authors reported that the teachers in this situation felt that the younger pupils resented the older pupils, but the analysis of the sociometric data proved this assumption to be erroneous. The authors suggested that grouping across age levels might be an appropriate means for meeting pupils' social needs by placing pupils in status-conducive arrangements that would serve academic needs as well.

The interesting interplay of values and performance, standards and achievement is in constant view of teachers in every classroom. The practice of ascribing status to a pupil by making him "feel important" has long been a technique of teachers who are sensitive to the status needs of pupils. Buswell (1953) found a relationship between the social structure of the classroom and academic success of pupils and reported that, in general, those pupils who succeeded in their school work were also successful in their social relationships. The investigator noted that at the kindergarten level, before rankings by academic achievement became apparent, future achievers were not chosen in social relationships any more frequently than future nonachievers, but that from the first grade on, after academic achievement ranking became evident, academic achievers were also the most socially acceptable. The author suggested that in view of the relationship between pupil IQ and academic achievement, and the rather permanent nature of IQ levels, teachers might be able to improve pupil achievement on an individualized basis because the teacher can control in some measure the opportunities a pupil has for achievement and acceptance by the way classroom work is planned and implemented.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Cooperation and Competition

Cooperation and competition as goal-directed behaviors are neither culture-free, value-free, nor free from developmental influences. There is research evidence, however, that the classroom environment and specific teacher behaviors can create a situation in which the appropriate use of either cooperation or competition for achieving goals can also encourage pupil performance and enhance pupil self-esteem.

In a study of nursery school pupils of mixed ethnicity, Altman (1971) examined the extent to which cooperative responses acquired by the subjects in a laboratory situation were generalized to a free-play situation and the extent to which the acquired behaviors influenced other measured social-interaction behaviors of the subjects. Altman found that "Learning" subjects who had acquired the cooperative responses significantly increased the frequency of these responses in the free-play situation and that they also significantly increased the behavior categorized as _Friendly Approach_ and reduced the frequency of _Hostile_ behavior. Another measured social behavior entitled _Conversation_, which proved to be unrelated to goal achievement in the laboratory training situation and therefore received no reinforcement, remained unchanged in frequency from pre- to post-treatment measures for both the Learning and No-Learning groups. The author suggested that further research on other types of responses would help isolate those responses that generalize effectively as well as any age-level factors that appear to influence the acquisition and generalization of responses.

Nelson and Madsen (1969) found that the four-year-old subjects of their study responded to cues for cooperative and competitive behaviors in accordance with a reward schema. However, cooperative behavior emerged only when the situation was structured so that the reward to be shared by the group could only be obtained by cooperative behavior. The initial behavior in both reward situations was competitive, and in the limited reward situation where only one of a dyad could receive the reward, the competitive behavior was sustained. Certain subjects appeared to initiate cues for reciprocal behavior, but the result was a dominant-submissive pattern of behavior rather than one of taking turns for the reward. The authors suggested that these subjects had a very weak concept of mutual assistance that would influence them to equalize or share the rewards in the limited reward situation. These subjects were able to cooperate for shared reward in the group-reward situation, however. The authors indicate that a tendency to focus on the mechanics of the task and the immediate reward affected these subjects' ability to perceive and assess the possibilities of alternative behaviors for gaining more rewards. The subjects of this study were of mixed racial and socio-economic backgrounds, but the authors found no significant behavioral differences between Caucasians and Blacks or middle-income and low-income groups. In a larger study using older subjects (first- and second-grade pupils), Richmond and Weiner (1973) found significant differences in competitive-cooperative behaviors on the basis of reward conditions, ethnicity, and age. One hundred and eight pairs of subjects were each placed in two reward conditions. In the condition where both subjects could receive a prize on every trial the interaction was cooperative, but when only one child could win a prize the interaction was competitive. The authors reported that pairs of black children were more cooperative and less competitive than pairs of whites, and that the behavior of white and black paired subjects was less cooperative than black pairs, but less competitive than white pairs. Second-graders were more competitive than first graders, but no significant sex differences were found. Although subjects represented two ethnic groups, the sample was drawn from one socio-economic rural population and the authors suggest that other ethnic, socioeconomic, and geographically defined groups should be investigated for differences in competitive-cooperative behavior.

Wilson and Williams (1973) reported the effect of rewarding groups of first-grade pupils with free time after they had achieved the stipulated program goals of (1) completing the assigned task, and (2) reducing or minimizing disruptive activities within their group. The investigators worked with 4 first-grade teachers and 100 first-grade pupils in an open classroom, team teaching situation, and implemented two program treatment phases of three weeks each with a two-week period between treatments in which the classroom was returned to pre-treatment conditions. The behaviors of the pupils and groups were observed and recorded using target subjects and observation periods outside of contingency group treatment times. The behavior of the teachers was also observed, but the program was explicitly designed not to require teachers to alter their behavior. The reported results indicated that the program significantly increased the amount of work achieved and significantly reduced the amount of disruptive activities. A follow up on the participants showed that teachers were continuing with the program one year after the study ended.

Based upon the knowledge of five-year-olds' group behavior previously obtained in experimental studies, Torrance (1971) devised two structuring procedures in order to study the effects of the two procedures on the subjects' cooperative and planning behaviors. One procedure structured the task and one procedure structured the group. The subjects were randomly assigned in groups of six (suggested as the most effective size allowing maximum group interaction at this age level). The subjects for both studies were from a preprimary program near a large university. Two ethnic groups were represented by a majority of Caucasians and a minority of Orientals, ranging from moderately disadvantaged to moderately advantaged by socioeconomic classification. In the first study, 144 subjects were randomly assigned to groups by sex with equal representation of boys and girls within groups. There were 12 experimental and 12 control groups. The experimental group was instructed to draw and color a castle, and select one castle or a composite of the castles drawn as the model to be built from blocks by the group. The author reported that the presence of castle selection required the aid of the observer in some groups. Controls were instructed to plan and build a dream castle as a group. The behaviors of group members were observed and recorded on five behavioral dimensions: (1) planning, (2) cooperation, (3) verbal aggressiveness, (4) physical aggressiveness, and (5) withdrawing behavior. Results indicated that the task structuring procedures had significantly increased the amount of planning and cooperating behavior and reduced the amount of aggressive behaviors. Withdrawing behavior was unaffected. In the second study, 72 subjects were similarly assigned to groups and observed. In this study a group leader was designated in each experimental group and members were instructed to help their "captain" build a football stadium. Control groups were instructed to cooperate in building a football stadium without any designated leadership. The results of this study indicated that the designation of a leader produced more planning behavior, but the experimental groups with appointed leaders also evidenced a stronger tendency toward more physical aggressiveness and less cooperative behavior than the control group. The author commented that structuring the task rather than the group appeared to be a more effective way to increase cooperative behavior with this age group. In another comment, the author reported that the castle produced by the experimental group of the first study was adjudged to be more elaborate and original than that produced by the control group.

It is possible that the designation of a leader in the experimental groups of the second study may have introduced an element of status reward and a reduction of group reward and reinforcement by having the task achievement ascribed to the leadership of one group member. If there were no criteria such as expertise or an already established leadership status for the designated leader, it might also be possible that the designated group task may have been subverted by the individualized task of acquiring and competing for group leadership or "deposing the king." The author also reported that selection of the castle model from the drawings required the aid of an observer since each subject wanted his castle selected and a compromise choice had to be made. Our comment on these two studies is that it appears that wherever competitive behavior could arise, it did, but the effectiveness of structuring a task (even without the use of contingency rewards) to achieve cooperative behavior seems well demonstrated.

Besides rewarding, reinforcing, and structuring group situations and tasks to achieve cooperative and/or competitive behavior, a study by Kagan and Madsen (1971) reported an additional technique described as "I/We" orientation designed to influence the behavior of pupils. Using a game to measure the cooperative and competitive behaviors of Anglo- and Mexican-Americans in the four- and five-year age group and Anglo-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Mexicans in the seven- to nine-year group, same-ethnicity subjects were paired for testing in two test situations. In one situation, cooperative play brought both pair members a reward, but the competitive play situation was structured so that no one could gain a reward. The behavioral patterns were similar to those found in the Richmond and Weiner study reported earlier in this section. Among the seven- to nine-year-old subjects, Mexicans were most cooperative, Mexican-Americans next, and Anglo-Americans least cooperative. Age differences also appeared in that the four-to-five-year-olds exhibited more cooperative behavior than the seven-to-nine-year age group. The influence of the pre-test orientation was significant with the older group. The set stressing a "we" orientation increased cooperative behavior ($\underline{p} < .001$) while the "I" orientation increased competitive behavior. Preschool children who evidenced the most cooperative behavior did not appear to be influenced by set orientation. In a neutral set in which subjects were allowed to structure the reward situation in harmony with their preference, Mexican and Mexican-American subjects structured the neutral set much as they structured the "we" set, while Anglo-Americans performed under the neutral set much as they had under the "I" set. The authors suggested that developmental differences accounted for the more cooperative behavior of the lower age group and that cultural differences were demonstrated by the behaviors of the older group.

A bi-cultural study (McClintock and Nuttin, Jr., 1969), in which male subjects of above-average IQ were paired in dyads and presented with circumstances that allowed a choice between cooperative and competitive behaviors indicated that across these two cultures, children tended to develop more competitive behavior as they grew older. The subjects were 168 Flemish and 168 American children distributed equally across second-, fourth-, and sixth-grade levels, who were paired in dyads and divided into two treatment groups. One-half of the dyads received information concerning only their own score made in the game (Single Display);the other half received information on both their own and the other player's cumulative score (Double Display). The game offered three choices for maximizing gains: (1) maximizing individual gain score, (2) maximizing the joint or team score, and (3) maximizing relative gain scores, or winning as much (conversely, losing as little) as possible relative to the other player. The pattern of choices made indicated that knowledge of one's own and another's score increased competitive rather than cooperative choices, in keeping with the expectation that comparison between players leads to more competitive behavior. Cultural differences that appeared in the early age groups did not reach significance in the older age groups and the authors suggest that in both cultural milieus, children are taught to compare and compete for gains.

Although the purpose of their study was not to examine pupils' competitive-cooperative behavior in relation to teacher behaviors, Harvey, Prather, White, and Hoffmeister (1968) found significant positive correlation between teacher resourcefulness (four behavioral items: utilization of physical resources, diversity of simultaneous activities, encouragement of creativity, and ingenuity in improving teaching and play materials) and pupils' cooperative behaviors, and a significant negative correlation between teacher dictatorialness and punitiveness with pupil cooperation. The behavioral descriptors for the two negatively correlated teacher behaviors contained ten items: a need for structure, lack of flexibility, rule orientation, refusing to encourage free expression of feelings, teacher determination of classroom procedures, the use of unexplained rules, lack of warmth toward children, imperceptiveness of children's needs and wishes, and punitiveness toward pupils. Subjects were 118 pupils, 92 from kindergarten and 26 from first-grade classes, and 90 teachers. It is not difficult to raise a visual image of the classroom interaction and the nature of the behavioral dialogue existing where the teacher's behaviors are dominated by the described dictatorialness and punitiveness. The behavioral dialogue is essentially the teacher's behavioral monologue, and the situation is one which presents very limited possibilities for pupil affirmation or recognition, and extremely limited access to reward.

Calonico and Calonico (1972) investigated the classroom environment, hypothesizing that it contained an internal system and external system unrelated to each other. The internal system consists of the sentiments held and expressed by members of the class and the external system is described as the imposed structure of mandatory schooling, age grouping, work conformity output demands, task demands, and organizations set up by the school system. Internal systems are characterized by individual like and dislike for other pupils, and friendly, helping, and copying activities of a voluntary nature that indicate the existence of a student-ordered society independent of the external system. The study substantiated three hypotheses that the authors consider important to educators. These hypotheses are: (1) More frequent interaction will result in stronger sentiments of friendship between the interactors (also supported by the data reported by Blain & Ramirez, 1968); (2) People who like each other will express that liking in activities beyond those provided by the external system with the corollary that individuals who express negative sentiments will also receive negative sentiment in the internal system; and (3) People that rank higher within a group engage in activities that conform to the norms of the group. The authors further suggested that teacher behaviors that are conducive to pupil cooperation and learning behaviors are those which (1) encourage friendliness and interaction among pupils, (2) take the internal structure of the classroom into consideration, (3) allow for helping relationships (including "copying" when it is used as a learning and not a cheating aid), and (4) encourage positive sentiments in the group.

Anderson (1970) investigated the effects of class properties (climate) upon individual learning, using a sample of 800 pupils randomly selected from 113 classes distributed over grades 10, 11, and 12 in the United States and Canada. Samples were divided by sex and classified according to four learning criteria related to academic subject content. When the results of the study were interpreted in relation to the cooperative and competitive behaviors exhibited, competition appeared to facilitate learning in high-ability females and cooperation appeared to facilitate learning in low-ability females.

Mauer (1968) has reported that a program implementing team learning was highly effective as well as enthusiastically supported by teachers in junior and senior high school situations. According to his report, pupil teaming results in stimulation, motivation, involvement, and self-discipline, as well as cooperative behavior. He suggested that this technique should be used only with material and subjects that are not effectively taught by the more traditional methods. The author also pointed out that there are a number of hazards in pupil teaming that should be seriously considered. For example, there are some pupils who are not sufficiently mature to work in pairs. We take this to mean that they will socialize and fritter away the time in pleasant companionship rather than in task-oriented cooperation. Structuring the task might be helpful in such cases. There are also pupils who become dependent upon their partner, a condition that could reinforce undesirably dominant behavior and undesirably submissive behavior. Again, structuring the task for cooperative behavior and reward might be of help. The last hazard is one that all adults will recognize as the occasional plague of their own committee and team work where the members of the team settle for reinforcing each other's ignorance rather than actively pursuing new information and formulating new questions.

The self-esteem of the developing self is acquired when he perceives his impact upon significant others and the environment. When impact can be increased through mastery of a skill or the uniqueness of personal performance and contribution, the acquired self-esteem will be positive. Although we speak of "losing" self-esteem, we are actually speaking of not quantity but quality, and perhaps the expressions "low self-esteem" or "loss" of self-esteem actually describe the effect of reduced impact upon others and the environment that characterize the attitudes of persons with negative self-esteem.

The roles of cooperation and competition are particularly important in the acquisition and maintenance of self-esteem. Through competition, which is an overt comparison of one's behavior and performance against others, the impact is clearly seen in winning. The loss of impact through losing, though often less clearly perceived in close outcomes, is usually more keenly felt. The old adage that we learn by our failures and mistakes probably reflects the common practice of examining our performances to find some clues to our failures, whereas our winning is usually accepted without a close second look. But in those areas where failure is almost complete and almost constant, the clues to failure generally lie outside of the performance in conditions involving missing knowledge and/or unmastered skills. Neither of these conditions lend themselves to winning, and without a hope of winning, it is useless to compete. The classroom is sometimes the scene of forced competition. The competitors have not entered the race voluntarily, they have been drafted. The ever-present bell-shaped curve of normal distribution has for some pupils the peal of constant victory and for other pupils the constant tolling of doom and failure.

Cooperation is also not a mode that serves all pupils. To be able to cooperate requires, if not confidence, at least the necessary self-esteem to consider the contribution one makes to the total effort as having some worth. For pupils with negative self-esteem, even demands for small contributions can appear too risky. Pupils with low self-esteem for their academic competence may need first to acquire mastery before they enter tasks, and should be encouraged to cooperate in other non-academic areas of classroom life so that their contributions can be perceived positively. Even if the nonacademic tasks achieved are successful simply because a pupil is tall enough to reach the top of the bulletin board or has hands small enough to wash out paste jars, his performance can be recognized as a worthwhile contribution to the group.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Autonomy

Autonomy is acquired and increased by the Performing Self through the mastery of behaviors and skills that reduce his dependence on others and enable him to achieve his desires and goals on his own. The acquired behaviors and skills that lead to autonomy are those which have been first interpreted and reinforced by significant others as goal-achieving behavior. The direction and extent of early autonomous behavior is determined by the interpretation of the role of the developing self and the extent to which that interpretation fosters the concepts and values that form a behavioral schema for goal-directed behaviors and utilizes his acquired skills. The limitations of the bodily self, of psychological experiences, and role interpretation all interact to determine the autonomous behavior of the developing self and the level of autonomy he will achieve in the future.

The effects of parental traits and practices on the behaviors of preschool children were extensively investigated and reported in a series of studies by Baumrind (1966, 1967, 1971, 1972) and Baumrind and Black (1967). In the 1967 study of 32 three- and four-year-old nursery pupils and their parents, three pupil behavior patterns were identified and related to the parental traits and practices influencing the behavior patterns of the subjects. Children with appropriately mature behaviors (Pattern I) were described as independent but social, self-reliant, explorative, realistic, competent, affiliative, and content. Parents of these children were described as exhibiting strong and consistent guidance, but with respect for the independent decisions of the child. They were directive, but accompanied directions with reason. They demanded a good deal of their children, but were supportive and nurturant, loving, conscientious, and self-assured in their roles as parents. Pattern II children were less secure and more apprehensive than Pattern I children, and were more likely to become hostile or regressive under stress. Their behavior could be described as more conforming, less autonomous, and less social than Pattern I children. The parents of these children were less nurturant and less involved with their children. They were firm and used power freely and did not offer reasons with their directives nor encourage disagreement. Mothers of these children tended to use fright as a controlling device and to exhibit less sympathy toward and approval of their children. Pattern III children were immature and dependent compared with Pattern I and II children. They did not exert as much self-control or self-reliance in comparison with the other two groups. The parents of the Pattern III children were undemanding, babied the children more, and were much less controlling than parents of the other two groups. The fathers of these children were lax disciplinarians and the mothers used love more manipulatively. The author points out that "control" and "restrictiveness" refer to quite distinct and different parental behaviors that have differing effects upon children's self-assertive and self-reliant behaviors.

From our perspective, control exercised through the interpretation of the child's role does not automatically "restrict" the child's opportunity to acquire the skills and behaviors that lead to his future autonomy and competence. A further inquiry into the parental use of control and its effects on child behavior was reported in Baumrind's 1971 study. This inquiry was prompted by the interesting pattern of child-rearing behavior found in Baumrind's earlier study. In this pattern, parents were described by observers as apparently "having control," but not having to exercise control over their children. The children seemed to behave according to the parents' wishes without the obvious exercise of parental power. The behavior of these parents is described as harmonious and equalitarian, creating an atmosphere allowing each family member to participate at his level of understanding and development. They did not reverse roles, according to the author, as permissive and nonconforming parents may do with their children, but focused upon developing ways of resolving differences and maintaining harmonious relationships. Their behavior exhibited the values of honesty, harmony, justice, and rationality instead of power, control, order, and achievement.

The author further stated that in parent-child interactions these parents "brought" the child up to their level. In this very limited and restricted sample of 8 children, the profile of the parents obtained on parent behavior ratings showed that both parents scored very high on measures of encouraging independence and individuality, enrichment of the child's environment, and their own passive acceptance. They were low on ratings of rejection. Fathers were high on promoting non-conformity and low on authoritarianism. The families were from the highest educational levels and socioeconomic backgrounds. These particular parent traits and rearing practices showed sex differences in their effect on the behavior of the children. The girls were rated as extraordinarily competent, achievement-oriented, friendly, and independent. In contrast, the two boys in the sample were reported as notably submissive, aimless, not achievement-oriented, and dependent.

Baumrind and Black (1967) reported the relationships found between parental behaviors and their sex-related effects in a sample of 95 white families, all from middle-class backgrounds and all highly educated. This sample population is highly limited and the behaviors described cannot be considered as representative of the full variance of behavior that could occur within each variable. For example, the ratings on the variable "warmth" or "rejection" are, at their lowest and highest, still describing parents sufficiently involved with their children to participate in a study involving their own time and the intrusions of observers into their homes. Parental warmth variables were related positively to autonomous behavior for boys and negatively for girls. Paternal punitiveness attitudes were associated with nonconforming and defiant behavior in girls, unlikeable behavior in boys. Maternal punitiveness was associated with friendly, outgoing, sociable behavior toward others for girls. Paternal punitiveness was associated with independent behavior for girls. Paternal consistent discipline was associated with assertiveness and independence for boys, affiliativeness for girls. Maturity demands correlated positively with independence and assertiveness for boys. Autonomous behavior for girls associated positively with socialization demands. Competent behavior for both sexes was associated with parents' willingness to offer reasons for directiveness and to listen to the child.

The data on the 16 black children and their families were drawn from the data acquired for the sample population of the Baumrind (1967) study, then separately analyzed and reported by Baumrind (1972). Analysis was done in comparison with the white sample, and the black families were assigned to one of eight established patterns of child rearing to compare differences in the effects of parental practices on black boys and black girls. Only one of the seven families of the black boys fitted into the category system devised for white families and that one black family appeared in Pattern I, Authoritarian (Not Rejecting). However, five of the nine families of black girls fell into the category of Pattern III, Authoritarian-Rejecting. On the children's behaviors, there were few differences between black boys' and white boys' behaviors. Black boys were expected to behave more maturely and their fathers were more likely to encourage independent behavior. Black boys appeared to be less achievement-oriented and more aggressive than white boys. Black girls were not encouraged toward independence and individuality. Mothers were not passive-acceptant and exercised firm enforcement. Black girls were expected to be more mature and conforming. They were more dominant and less achievement-oriented than white girls, but not to a statistically significant degree. By comparison, black daughters of Authoritarian parents were more domineering and independent, and in general, black girls displayed more social maturity and more adaptive behaviors than white girls. The author added two important cautions: authoritarian child-rearing practices were not found to be related to intellectual achievement in the young child, black or white. Authoritarian practices accompanied by reason, with clear directives from parents who also encouraged individual expression were associated with intellectual achievement and independence in white girls.

Daughters of black authoritarian parents appeared more domineering with peers and resistive with adults, while also appearing more socially competent.

In a study of adolescent autonomy, Elder (1963) found that parents who were democratic and gave verbal explanations for their directives fostered appropriate independence in their children. These parents fostered independent behavior by offering opportunities for autonomous and independent behavior under the guidance of interested parents who exercised a needed amount of control (interpreting limits); by furthering the child's identification with parents based on love and respect; and by modeling reasonable independent and autonomous behaviors which their children could imitate and emulate.

Pupils may perceive the teacher's role in the classroom as one of autocratic authority. They may perceive teachers as demanding only conforming and compliant behaviors and may expect teachers to have a punitive attitude toward any demonstration of pupil independence or autonomy. So many of the behaviors exacted from pupils in the classroom appear to be interpretations of their role in the classroom as puppets on a string. "Open your books to page 63." "Close your books and begin writing." "Put your things away and go quietly to the lunch room." But these kinds of verbal behaviors, while directive and regulatory, are not necessarily viewed as either arbitrary or incomprehensible by pupils. Pupils understand the reasons, whether verbalized or not, for many of the directives given in the classroom, and compliance made with understanding of the need does not lead to blind obedience and unquestioning conformity.

The most difficult problem for the teacher is to foster the development of independence and autonomy in his pupils by appropriately assessing the "Performing Self" of each pupil and interpreting the pupil's role in the classroom so that the pupil may assume as much responsibility for self-direction, self-control, self-criticism, and independence as his level of maturation will allow. At the same time, the goal of the teacher is also to continue to equip the Performing Self with additional skills and behaviors with which to continue his growth toward independence and autonomy.

Spaulding (1964) categorized teacher behaviors from data collected in 21 fourth- and sixth-grade classrooms from 9 middle-class suburban elementary schools. In this study, he found that the level of self-esteem in pupils was related positively to the teacher behaviors categorized as "socially integrative," described as using a calm and accepting interactive style with the class, individualizing instruction, having a concern for divergency (encouraging individuality), attention to task, and using task-appropriate procedures.

A study to determine the effects of two forms of school environment, the open-style school and the traditional school, upon the self-concepts of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils in which self-concept factors of Interpersonal Adequacy, Autonomy, and Academic Adequacy were used revealed no significant differences between these two school environments and their effects on the self-concept measures (Ruedi and West, 1973). The authors did report that the comparisons generally favored the open environment but that Academic Adequacy measures for the sixth-grade subjects favored the traditional setting. The factor, Teacher-School, also demonstrated a significant difference and indicated that pupils in the open classroom environment were more positive in their attitudes toward school and teachers. The authors suggested that the study was limited by the size of the sample (24 pupils from each environment) and the use of a single criterion, self-concept.

An investigation by Wodtke and Wallen (1965) failed to support the generalization that creative children work better under non-directive teachers. Two high-controlling and two low-controlling teachers for grades four and five were observed together with 32 pupils who were selected for their high and low scores on a creativity test and an intelligence test. One of the main effects having borderline significance showed that high creativity pupils initiated less verbal behavior than low-creativity pupils and that all the pupils of high-control teachers initiated less verbal behavior than the pupils of low-control teachers. The investigators referred to a previous study by Wodtke in which significant gains were made in the verbal creativity (divergency) by pupils of low-controlling teachers at the fourth-grade level. It was also suggested that further research investigating the changes over time, or the effects of teachers, peers, and other influences, on the self-initiated verbal behavior in the classroom should be undertaken.

Teacher behavior has also been investigated in relation to the development or reinforcement of conformity and dependence in pupils. Five groups of four-year-old children were pretrained and ranked on the basis of their independent or dependent responses to a problem in a pretraining session. In the experimental testing situation, subjects were praised for every other dependent and competent response. From the results of this study the investigators concluded that competence and dependence are not mutually exclusive behaviors. Children can be both dependent and competent, but the absence of reinforcement for competence is possibly more potent in determining more dependent responses than rewarding for dependent behavior itself. Busch and DeRidder (1973) investigated the conforming behavior of 96 disadvantaged, rural children in a preschool program. Girls were found to respond significantly more than boys to verbal reinforcement from a male experimenter who encouraged them to reduce their level of conforming behavior. Since all the experimenters in this study were male, the possibility that the sex of the experimenter was a contributing factor in the differential responses of the male and female subjects could not be examined. In this particular sample the responses were not found to be related to cognitive field dependence-independence measures, either, but the authors also drew attention to the limitations of their sample with regard to this finding. In the opinion of these investigators, the failure to find overall sex differences in the conforming behavior of the subjects or to find a relationship between field-dependent and conforming behaviors may have been due to the early age of the sample subjects.

Studies of conformity in children indicate a strong developmental aspect reflecting the change in the source for conforming standards from parents, to peers, and to ideals. The role of the teacher as a significant or salient other requires the ability to relate conforming behaviors of pupils to their developmental level and to help pupils with dependent conforming behaviors acquire behaviors that promote emotional maturity and independent, autonomous behaviors.

In the earlier section on competition and cooperation as goal-achieving behaviors we drew attention to the hazards involved when one or the other of these two forms of behavior is stressed without regard to the pupil's performing ability or his value of the goal to be achieved. At this point, we would also like to emphasize that autonomous and competent behaviors do not exclude conforming and dependent behaviors from the roster of goal-achieving behaviors. Conforming behaviors can be the foundation for the mastery of behaviors and skills that give rise to competence and increased self-esteem, while dependent behaviors can be the foundation for future role interpretation leading to autonomy and competence that enhance self-esteem.

The basis for value judgments made by significant others with regard to pupil behaviors is found in the societal standards for appropriate behavior in accordance with the chronological age of the pupil. These standards are applied to the nature of the task and the level of performance competency exhibited by the pupil. The recognition that a difference exists between the chronological age and the mental or cognitive age of a pupil has provided a useful and valuable concept in setting individual academic goals for pupils. The recognition that differences also exist between the cognitive age, the chronological age, and the emotional age of pupils is evident in practice, but operates on a much more informal and ill-informed basis in the classroom, and in practice shows a tendency to accommodate levels of maturity and immaturity through teaching styles rather than efforts to promote emotional maturity by setting individual affective goals for pupils.

In the introduction to this chapter we have described the sense of Self-Esteem as the self's total of self-affirming experiences which, to be self-affirming, must be experiences that define the self, his performance, and his products in accordance with the self's acquired system of values. When a child enters school, he may or may not have acquired a value for academic achievement. The acquired behaviors and skills that have served as a source for self-esteem in his familial setting may or may not serve him in the new social setting. Sources of self-esteem derived from his sense of the

Bodily Self, his sex, physical characteristics, and motor abilities, or from his sense of Self-Identity, his ethnic group, language, and status within the family--all of these as well as others may continue to function as sources for positive self-esteem in the new situation, but they may also cease to function or become sources of negative psychological experiences that not only do not affirm, but actually damage the pupil's existing sense of self-esteem. A child may also enter the school situation having had such limited experiences of self-affirmation that his lack of self-value and his low measure of self-esteem appear obvious in all his behavior.

Regardless of the state of self-esteem with which each pupil enters the school system, it is possible for the teacher as a significant or salient other and for the environment of the school to provide psychological experiences from which the pupil can derive a sense of positive self-esteem. Pupils who indicate by their behavior that they lack a positive sense of self-esteem or a sense of self-esteem related to behaviors and skills that do not function in the new situation, require a structuring of the behavioral dialogue that will provide them with new interpretations and reflections of their Performing Selves. Theoretically, then, the first objective of the behavioral dialogue should be to provide experiences through which each developing self can be reflected, recognized, and affirmed as an achieving performer with a positive impact upon the significant other and the environment. The demonstrated ability of experienced teachers to assess and evaluate the academic potential of their pupils should be utilized as a diagnostic tool for planning both the cognitive and affective experiences of each pupil.

The second objective of the behavioral dialogue is to help pupils acquire and internalize the value for academic achievement and the skills of evaluation to be used as a creative and corrective means for assessment of the Performing Self and its products and as a source of self-esteem.

The present research suggests that teachers who clearly communicate and interpret the standards being used for evaluation of pupil performance are most effective in helping pupils adopt and impose standards on their own performances. Pupils who learn to apply appropriate standards to their performances and products not only increase the accuracy of their self-evaluation, but also acquire a measure of independence in judgment from which a sense of positive self-esteem can be derived. The present research also appears to underscore the power and effectiveness inherent in the teacher's role as a model and as an interpreter of standards. As models, teachers can demonstrate the proper use of self-criticism and self-reward, but as interpreters of standards for pupil behavior and interpreters of pupil behavior they are in a position to communicate biases detrimental to the self-evaluating abilities of their pupils, and to reinforce behaviors detrimental to the self-esteem of pupils. The appropriate and creative use of self-criticism requires that pupils clearly perceive the relationship between their performance and their products in order to identify those elements of their performance that require correction or alteration. Unless this relationship can be established for the pupil, the positive aspects of criticism and self-evaluation can be obscured by a sense of guilt and the reduction of self-esteem through the perceived negative impact of the Performing Self.

There is a suggestion in present research that "self-talk" can be used as a technique for helping pupils assume a more objective stance in perceiving their performances and products and may also be a successful means for implementing processes of self-reward, self-criticism, and self-evaluation. However, the effects of all of these processes, as well as techniques for implementing them, require more investigation before their effectiveness can be substantiated rather than suggested.

As a repository and interpreter of values and standards for the learning situation, teachers can affect the status of individual pupils or groups of pupils. Teachers are in a position to effectively impose a status system within the classroom that reflects and reinforces the teacher's status hierarchy with either positive or negative effects on pupil self-esteem. By ascribing value to the products and performances of individual pupils or by providing circumstances where the teacher can give a positive interpretation and direction to pupil-pupil interaction, teachers can affect the nature of the psychological experiences of pupils in the classroom. By utilizing teaching methods such as cross-age tutoring, group activities, and classroom activities directed toward positive social interaction for all members of the class, the teacher can increase the environmental sources of positive impact and affirmation for the pupils in the classroom.

The teacher's position as controller of the classroom environment also provides conditions for utilizing the competitive and cooperative situations that can be organized for achieving planned affective objectives. In general, the findings of current research studies tend to support the belief that we have produced a competitive society. If, for any reason, a teacher would like to increase the competitiveness among the pupils in the classroom, the technique of offering limited rewards for performance seems effective in producing more highly competitive behavior. It has also been demonstrated in research studies investigating the adoption of standards that highly valued rewards can stimulate an increase in deviant behavior and less rigid application of behavioral standards. From the findings of Harvey et al., (1968) we can infer that teachers may through their dictatorial, controlling, and punitive behaviors toward pupils, create a classroom situation in which the teacher becomes the source of limited rewards, thereby increasing the competitiveness among pupils striving for the reward of teacher approval. The presence of culture-based spontaneous competitive behaviors underscores the need for directly taught values and standards for cooperative behavior among students. Researchers have demonstrated the success of task-structuring and the success of making rewards contingent upon cooperative behaviors in producing cooperative behaviors among school-age subjects.

The teacher's purpose for implementing cooperative or competitive behaviors should be to create conditions in which pupils can acquire mastery of skills and behaviors and to provide psychological experiences in which pupils are able to perceive themselves as having a positive impact upon their environment. Teachers should recognize that just as all pupils do not have the same ability to achieve academically, all pupils do not have the same abilities to compete or cooperate. It is equally important to recognize the affective results that will accompany the use of cooperative and competitive techniques whether or not they have been planned. The self-esteem developed from being a "good loser" may have to suffice for some pupils who constantly experience failure, but the classroom should be able to offer alternatives to failure for every pupil.

Teachers may also help pupils acquire a sense of positive self-esteem by fostering the development of self-directing, self-controlling, and self-evaluating behaviors that increase pupil independence and autonomy. To be self-directing, the pupil must know what to do, how to do it, and what constitutes successful completion. To be self-controlling a pupil must know what behaviors are appropriate and goal-directed and what behaviors are inappropriate and unproductive. To be self-evaluative the pupil must know which elements of his performance, present or lacking, relate to the successful outcome of his performance or products. When teachers evaluate a pupil as "able to work with a minimum of supervision," regardless of the grade level or age-level of the pupil, the implications are clear that the pupil exhibits autonomous and independent behavior appropriately mature for his age or grade level.

Willis (1972) identified the ability to work without supervision as one of the most commonly used teacher criteria for estimating the potential academic achievement level of pupils. Pupils who evidence this behavior have, at least theoretically, a source for positive self-esteem in their positive impact upon the significant other and their environment. Pupils who do not evidence this behavior need the assistance of their teacher as a significant and salient other to help them acquire the necessary skills, behavior, values, and standards and they need the experiences that reflect the pupil's Performing Self as an achiever with positive impact on his environment.

Chapter VI References

Introduction

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CHAPTER VII

Self-Extension

Teacher behaviors and pupils' concept of Self as
Performer, pupil motivation, role development,
support, response to incentives, performances,
creativity, goal-setting and decision-making

The psychological self-construct described as Self-Extension emphasizes the sense of self as a performer of behaviors and as a producer of products. This construct is related to all other existing concepts of self which serve the Performing Self as motivaters, interpreters, and controllers of the behaviors expressed through the actions of the Performing Self. The basic attitude of trust or mistrust established with the sense of Bodily Self, and the characteristically negative or positive perception of the self's initial impact upon others and the environment color the developing self's perception of the risks and consequences inherent in every event of his behavioral dialogue. The sense of self-extension expressed through performance will be determined by the self's assessment of the psychological safety for all of his existing concepts of self. Through the activity of the Performing Self behaviors are acquired and skills are mastered, but the amount of effort and the level of each performance will be affected by the limits imposed by the sense of Self-Extension and the perception of Self as Performer. The amount of contact initiated by the developing self and the nature of the relationship with significant others and the environment is also affected by the sense of Self-Extension and the limits imposed on the Performing Self in order to maintain psychological safety.

Efforts of the developing self to acquire behaviors and skills or to explore and test the environment are behaviors of the Performing Self which are usually observed by others. The performances and products of the Performing Self are consistently subjected to the judgment and evaluation of significant others and the environment and it is the Performing Selves of pupils and teachers that are constantly interacting in the classroom.

In acquiring the behaviors and skills that gain approval and acceptance from others, the developing self also acquires the standards by which his performance is judged in order to make his performance acceptable. As behaviors become valued as a source of reward and approval they can also become valued as self-rewarding sources of autonomy and independence. When behaviors become valued by the individual as a means of attaining self-direction and independence, they are no longer performed just for approval. Behaviors and skills valued by the developing self are acquired through intrinsic motivation, whether the motivation is based on a value for approval or a value of autonomy and independence. Skills and behaviors which do not appear to the developing self to hold any promise for rewards of approval or autonomy need interpretation so that their usefulness can be understood. When the developing self feels that some skills and behaviors are too difficult for him to acquire and perform, the significant other can offer guidance, help, and encouragement. The addition of rewards valued for themselves and unrelated to behavior performed to acquire them provides extrinsic motivation for the Performing Self. It is only when the developing self has acquired a value for his performance as a means of achieving his desired positive impact that the success or failure of his performances has any effect on his concepts of self. The impact of success or failure on the self-concepts of the performer is determined by the value system of the performer and not by the value system of external judges. The assumption that all pupils are deeply affected by failure in academic performance is usually made by those who value education for its intrinsic rewards. Pupils may acquire negative self-concepts from academic failures not because they failed to achieve, but because they failed to please. If academic achievement is not valued as a means of acquiring approval or as a means of acquiring autonomy and independence, success or failure in the performance of academic tasks will have little or no effect on the self-concept development of the individual.

During his early years, the role of the developing self in the behavioral dialogue is dominated by and directed toward the socialization process. The role of the developing self is to acquire the prescribed behaviors of his society that mark his membership, and to perform these behaviors in accordance with the values and standards of his society. Behaviors prescribed by each society have established purposes which are to be accepted by each member of the group. These behaviors form a basis not only for social identity, but also serve to enhance the self's concepts of the Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, and Self-Image. For the Performing Self, the acquisition and performance of prescriptive "how to" behaviors become the source for approval and disapproval in his early dialogue with significant others and the environment. The impact of the Performing Self reflected in the praise and pleasure of significant others introduces the developing self to the rewards of conforming behaviors and convergent thinking as affirmations of his identity and a measure of his esteem.

If the culture of the society is highly traditional it becomes highly prescriptive, or if the society is highly technological and complicated it may also be highly prescriptive. In either situation, the developing self must commit a considerable amount of his early years to acquiring the prescribed social and cognitive behaviors of his society in order to be rewarded with acceptance and approval. The prescriptive "how to" behaviors and skills of a given society and the extent to which they dominate the content of the behavioral dialogue have a strong influence on the development of the Performing Self and the sense of Self-Extension. As condensors of group experience and knowledge and as codifiers of behaviors, these "how to" behaviors and skills can simplify the acquisition process and increase the availability of certain societal tools that enhance the participation of the Performing Self. But the temptation to condense and codify for pragmatic performance purposes, reducing the acquisition processes to association and imitation, can exert a controlling influence on other cognitive processes, restricting the development of concepts and the discovery of principles. It may serve a pragmatic performance goal to learn that "a minus times a minus equals a plus, why this is we need not discuss," but without the discussion, it serves to limit and control behavior and performance.

There are certainly many instances where condensations and codes serve the Performing Self more efficiently than experiential learning. One important role of the teacher as a significant other and as controller of the environment is to differentiate between the condensations and codes that control and limit the development of the Performing Self and those which aid and assist performance. Teachers who use controlling standards and limited goals and inculcate values in pupils that discourage questioning will limit pupil performance and development. An additional function of the teacher and the classroom environment is to provide a climate of psychological safety for each pupil that encourages his questions and acknowledges his right to examine standards, values, and societal goals.

By acquiring certain behaviors and skills valued by the significant other, the Performing Self can alter the nature of his impact on others. In this manner he can alter the subsequent reflection of his image from one of negativity and rejection to one of conditional but positive acceptance. Under these conditions, the Performing Self then concentrates upon those performances that produce positive and accepting responses from the significant other. The developing self may find, however, that the acquisition of skills and behaviors that reduce his dependency upon the significant other may alter the relationship and result in rejection and a negative reflection of the self. To maintain a positive relationship with the significant other, the Performing Self may then limit his performance and subsequent acquisition of behaviors and skills to those that insure his acceptance and approval by the significant other , sacrificing autonomy for approval.

In the acquisition of skills and behaviors the significant other's use of praise that is unrelated to behavioral goals or standards can leave the developing self without the proper cognitive information necessary for differentiating his behavior and developing constructs for goal-directed behavior. The performance of rewarded behaviors may then be used by the developing self to gain attention and approval without regard to the appropriateness or other goal-related value of the behavior. Indiscriminate criticism from significant others without accompanying approval for properly performed and associated goal-directed behaviors can make the process of acquiring skills and behaviors a lengthy and negative experience for the developing self. It may also result in limited performances through the effect of continuous negative reflection on the sense of Self-Extension and the concept of the Performing Self. Performances of the developing self that are unrelated to his internalized value system and are totally unacknowledged by significant others may produce performances that reach minimum goals at minimum standards performed at a level only sufficient to avoid criticism and negative reflections of the self.

The psychological experiences from which each pupil has derived his present concepts of self before entering the classroom are going to be present in the performing behavior of each student.

The Performing Self of each pupil in the classroom offers the concerned teacher an opportunity to re-interpret and alter the effect of some of the previous psychological experiences in the new behavioral dialogue of the classroom. It is less important in this context how the teacher rates the performance and products of each pupil in comparison with other pupils and other standards than how the teacher interprets the performance and products of each pupil to each pupil. Motivating pupils to perform, to produce, and to achieve behavioral goals that may not be valued by the pupil, and to exact performances of such behaviors in accordance with external standards requires an understanding of each pupil's Performing Self and a knowledge of the conditions which will enable pupils to acquire both the values and the behaviors necessary for a successful performance.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Motivations

Teevan and McGhee (1972) investigated the influence of certain interaction variables on the acquired fear of failure. Forty-one male high school juniors and their mothers comprised the sample. The data acquired substantiated the investigators' first hypothesis that male subjects who indicated a high fear of failure had mothers who had earlier expectations for independence and achievement behaviors from their sons. Mothers of low-fear-of-failure subjects had reported much later expectation for both behaviors. This sample also confirmed the investigators' hypothesis that high fear of failure subjects would have experienced more frequent neutral responses and less rewarding responses to their independent and achieving behaviors. The hypothesis that high fear of failure subjects would have also experienced more punishment and less frequent neutral responses than low fear of failure subjects was not statistically substantiated, although the differences were in the predicted direction. The conclusions offered from this study are that a mother's early expectations for independent and achieving behaviors contribute to the development of fear of failure motivation in the child but are not related to the positive or negative attitude toward achievement developed by the child. The reinforcement pattern practiced by the mother influences the child's attitude toward achieving and independent behaviors and also the child's response to motivation by either fear of failure or hope of success. If the mother's pattern of response is neutral toward satisfactory behavior and punitive toward unsatisfactory behavior, the child's attitude toward achievement and independent behaviors is likely to be negative and behavior on both of these dimensions will be motivated by the fear of negative consequences for failure. If the mother rewards satisfactory behavior, the child is more likely to develop a positive attitude and be motivated by the anticipation of positive responses to his success.

Another study (Murray, Seagull and Geisinger, 1969) matched 20 maladjusted boys and their parents with 20 adjusted boys and their parents in order to compare the motivational patterns of the two sets of parents. The maladjusted boys were described by the investigators as typical of the neurotic-level problem pupils usually referred to treatment from elementary schools. All maladjusted subjects had normal intelligence but problems classified as academic failure, anxiety symptoms, rebellion, and social rejection. Objective measures were made of selected motivation sources considered as typical of the motives underlying family interaction in the literature of clinical studies. These sources were (1) motivation for achievement, (2) affiliation, (3) power, and (4) aggression. An additional measure of "experience balance" was included, which indicated the amount of external compared with internal sources of motivation for each subject. Interviews were also obtained from the subjects. Differences found in the motivational patterns of the two sets of parents in the Murray et al. study were neither as many nor as strong as expected. The parents of the maladjusted boys scored higher in paternal aggression and those maternal behaviors that indicated the mothers' difficulties in expressing and reacting to internal feelings. Maladjusted boys and their fathers appeared to exhibit more overt hostility. Maladjusted boys described their mothers as being distant and not given to overt aggressive behaviors. A significant difference was found in the distribution of controlling techniques used by the mothers. Mothers of the adjusted subjects appeared to use more verbal aggressive techniques while mothers of maladjusted boys used more subtle and less overtly aggressive techniques of restriction and deprivation. In the adjusted families, results of correlational analyses did not establish any relationship between family members with regard to motives. The sources of motivation, affiliation, power, and aggression for maladjusted boys, however, tended to be negatively related to parental measures of these sources, particularly to those of the mothers.

Although these two studies are limited to male samples and to specific variables of the parent-child relationship, the reported findings lend credence to the theoretical importance of the role of significant others in the development of the Performing Self and the impact of response patterns used by significant others on the motivations and attitudes of the developing self. The process of acquiring specified behaviors and skills forms a part of the continuum between familial and school environments, and the attitudes and motivational sources acquired in one environment can be reasonably expected to appear in the behavior of the Performing Self in response to similar psychological experiences in another environment. The impact of the Performing Self upon significant others and the environment reflected in their responses to performances supply the developing self with the psychological experiences that influence the formation of attitudes and motives. The cognitive content of the response made by significant others and the environment is processed to form the constructs for goal-directed behaviors. In the first study cited above, the use of positive responses to satisfactory behavior influenced the development of hope-for-success motivation. Neutral responses and punitive responses fostered a fear-of-failure motivation. The possibility that teachers' use of similar response patterns may produce similar effects on pupils' attitudes and motivations in the school environment should be seriously considered. The authors of the second study commented that the boys in the two groups behaved differently, but did not appear to be very different on measures of motivation. The significant difference in the controlling techniques used by the two groups of mothers might bear further investigation for their relationship to the acquisition of goal-directed behaviors.

The mothers of adjusted boys were described as using techniques that included scolding and yelling with at least the implication that the content in their responses was related to the behavioral performances of their sons. Mothers of maladjusted boys were described as using restriction and deprivation--practices which may convey positive or negative attitudes toward the behaviors of their sons, but which may not have provided their sons with sufficient information for associating and differentiating their behaviors in order to identify and reinforce behaviors that would have achieved desired goals.

Differential Pupil Responses to Teacher Motivation

A study reported by Goldberg (1968) was based upon the premise that different pupils may respond differently to the same teacher behaviors because already-developed attitudes cause them to perceive behaviors differently and to respond and perform academically in accordance with their individual perceptions. Another premise used was that the dimension of personality defined as authoritarian versus non-authoritarian is a significant determinant of teacher behavior and that the attitude toward authority influences pupil perception of teaching behaviors. A study was conducted with an all-male sample of 254 eighth- and ninth-grade pupils and their 12 male social studies teachers in 3 schools of a large eastern suburb. Variables underlying the California F. Scale (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) were translated into items referenced to specific teacher behaviors and formed the basis for 25 items identifying authoritarian teachers and 25 items identifying non-authoritarian teachers. Three scales measuring pupils' attitudes toward authority, pupil flexibility, and pupil compulsivity were obtained along with pupil reports of required and self-initiated work done. Neither pupil attitude toward authority nor pupil flexibility as measured in this study appeared to be related to pupil perception of teacher behaviors on the authority dimension. But pupil measures on the scale of compulsivity, which were strongly related to the school situation and to traits characterized as authoritarian, did show a significant statistical relationship to pupil perception of teaching behaviors. Pupils scoring high in compulsivity perceived their teachers as less authoritarian, while pupils scoring low in compulsivity perceived their teachers as more authoritarian.

These findings substantiate that pupils report different views of teacher behavior in accordance with their compulsivity rating, but without an objective measure of the referent teacher as authoritarian or non-authoritarian, it is difficult to ascertain whether the two views are the results of influenced perception or differential treatment received by the pupils due to their compulsive characteristics. Our difficulty in interpreting these findings is also due in part to the way items intended to differentiate between authoritarian and non-authoritarian teachers were phrased for reference. The sample item given in the report indicated that these items were phrased for "our" teacher and the class as "we" and "us." If all pupils did respond to a collective experience of teacher behavior, rather than an individual experience, it could be safely assumed that high-

and low-compulsivity pupils were perceiving their teachers differentially. However, since the author also suggests that the reported views may be the result of differential treatment and actual experience, we cannot be too comfortable with that assumption. The criterion variables "work required" and "self-initiated work" did not attain a statistically significant relationship to either pupil compulsivity ratings or pupil perception of teacher behaviors as authoritarian or non-authoritarian. The author reported evidence of a trend for pupils with high compulsivity to report doing less work,while pupils with low compulsivity reported doing more work when the teacher was perceived by the pupil as non-authoritarian. No differentiation between "self-initated" or "required work" was indicated in the report.

The effectiveness of the compulsivity measure in this study suggests that further investigation using an objective rating on the authoritarian dimension for the teachers involved and a self-referenced instrument for perception of teacher behavior might offer more substantive findings on the relationship between pupil perception of teaching behavior and pupil work response.

Teachers' use of four motivating cues and their effect in producing either facilitating or debilitating anxiety in underachieving, achieving, and overachieving high school mathematics students was examined by White and Aaron (1967). The sample population included 90 boys and 96 girls who were junior and senior mathematics students in a large southern and urban high school. The subjects were given a standardized mathematics aptitude test and an objective mid-term math test.

Combinations of the quartile ranking of each student on these two tests were used to classify subjects as underachievers, overachievers, or achievers. A measure of achievement anxiety was also obtained for each subject and pupil responses to classroom characteristics of the teachers were also obtained from 50 statements identifying four motivational categories of achievement, affiliation, orderliness, and test and feedback. Results of this study indicated that girls were generally more perceptive of motivating cues provided by the teacher and reacted more positively to anxiety than the boys in this sample. Girls did indicate more debilitating fear-of-failure anxiety, however. On the motivating cues, both sex and group differences were noted. The achievement motivation variable indicated a significant difference among groups and between sexes in perceiving teacher cues, but the interaction was not significant. Across all groups, the mean scores for girls were consistently lower than those for boys on this variable. There were no significant differences between the three achieving groups on affiliation, but underachieving girls were significantly higher in perception of affiliative cues than underachieving boys, and achieving boys were higher in perception of cues than achieving girls. On both the orderliness cues and the test and feedback cues, girls showed higher perception across all groups. Group membership by sex was quite evenly distributed. In the achieving group, there were 45 boys and 52 girls who, by definition,were performing to capacity; 23 boys and 23 girls who were not working at their potential level and were classified as underachievers; and 22 boys and 20 girls who were considered to be overachievers performing above their predicted levels. The author reported that the motivating cues of teachers elevated the anxiety level in all the subjects.

The investigators discussed the sex differences obtained in this study in terms that relate cultural influences to the acquisition of skills and behaviors prescribed by the society. The authors suggested that the lower means obtained for girls on perception of motivation for achievement cues may have been due to girls' already having had more motivation for academic achievement and therefore having no need for additional cues. The girls' higher perception of test and feedback motivation cues was related to their more frequent perception of the teacher as evaluative and reinforcing and as higher on extrinsic rewards and punishment. Girls were reported as more sensitive to correction by the teacher and to announcements of tests and immediate feedback results. Girls were also reported to have more fear-of-failure anxiety. The investigator suggested that girls, having weaker intrinsic motives for academic achievement,may require more extrinsic rewards and punishments from their teachers, while boys may have been more perceptive and responsive to intrinsic motivation in learning mathematics. Boys' failure to respond to orderliness cues was, in the opinion of these investigators, not surprising, since boys in this culture are encouraged in their independent and divergent behaviors and do not readily respond to conforming and controlling cues. The authors further commented that it was difficult to interpret the results of this study and pointed out that most achievement motivation studies have been limited to males (a fact which we can confirm). Studies of achievement motivation in females have not yet produced substantial and conclusive results. We can only suggest that further research is needed to examine the process by which prescribed behaviors and skills are acquired, the role of response patterns of significant others, and the effect of cultural values upon the perceived impact of the Performing Self..

The Development of Pupil Role Through Teacher Indirect Behaviors

The teacher as significant other and as controller of the classroom environment provides both the interpretation of the pupil role and the environment in which the developing self can perform. The extent to which the teacher controls the direction and limits of role behaviors and the extent to which the teacher confines or expands the opportunities for performance are direct points at which the teacher contributes to the pupil's sense of Self-Extension and aids in the acquisition of required behaviors and skills.

The interpretation of the pupil role and the extent of performance are part of the ideology investigated by Dobson, Goldenberg, and Elson (1972). The purpose of their study was to determine whether teacher ideology of pupil control was expressed in classroom behaviors. An instrument designed to identify teacher ideology ranging from very controlling, or "custodial", to very non-directive, or "humanistic", was given to 260 elementary school teachers in suburban schools in a large southern metropolis. From this group the two extremes were selected, and observers using the Flanders Interaction Analysis Scale (Flanders, 1966) recorded the classroom verbal interaction of each teacher in the two groups. Significant differences were found between the groups on three variables. There was no significant difference in the proportions of indirect teacher statements between the two groups, but humanistic teachers accepted and developed pupil ideas significantly more than custodial teachers. Similarly, there was no significant difference in the proportion of direct verbal teacher statements, but custodial teachers lectured significantly more than did humanistic teachers. There was no significant difference in the dimension of total pupil talk between the two groups, but the amount of pupil-initiated talk was significantly higher for the pupils of humanistic teachers. The investigators concluded that the ideology of pupil control held by the teacher is expressed in teacher classroom behavior and although there were no significant differences in the proportion of verbal behaviors either by teachers or pupils in both groups, humanistic teachers employed significantly more indirect teaching behaviors than teachers classified as custodial.

On the premise that the structure of the traditional learning situation operates against achievement motivation, pupil initiative and pupil responsibility, Alschuler (1969) restructured the learning process in several classrooms (with the help of the teachers) from what he termed as power-oriented games to achievement-oriented games within the classroom. The first study was conducted in a tenth-grade typing class, with a control class that had been taught by the same teacher using the same text material the previous year. Restructuring was introduced after both classes achieved an identical average in net words typed per minute which occurred after three weeks of the first school quarter. Pupils in the restructured class helped set their own goals and,with the teacher's assistance, established the grades to be given for various typing speeds. Pupils kept records of their own progress and determined the length and difficulty of the test to be taken each day for himself. The practice of having each pupil solve particular problems he was encountering was also stressed in the restructured group. The control class took tests chosen by the teacher and administered in the traditional fashion. At the end of the third quarter, the restructured class had achieved a class average typing speed 54% higher than the control class, with the lowest individual score of the restructured class tied with the highest score of the control class at 50 net words per minute. The second study was conducted with 15 students in a fifth-grade mathematics class. Work done by the experimental group was compared with their previous year's achievement under the same teacher but in the "power" oriented setting, and with the work of another fifth grade class taught in the traditional style by a "very competent and kind teacher." The restructured classroom used a contract system with the standard textbook used in all fifth-grade classes of the school. Students contracted to produce a certain number of correct answers for each chapter of the book. The contracts required a fee to be paid for revised due dates and a deduction of a certain percentage of their "government" money for each incorrect answer. Pupils also deposited a fee for materials and franchise. The fee earned by the pupil on contract was directly proportional to the goal he set--the higher he bid and produced, the more he earned. Pupils were in charge of their own assignments, getting help when it was needed and working through the book themselves. At the end of the year students in this restructured class showed a gain of 2.85 years on the Stanford Achievement Test. Pupils in the traditional class showed a gain of .36 on the same measure for that year. The teacher's comments indicated that pupils who had not shown any interest in math the previous year began taking their books home voluntarily. Many pupils began to reassess their abilities more optimistically and performed up to their own set standards. The teacher also reported that very few deadlines were missed. As may be expected on the basis of the behaviors reported by teachers, pupils also reported that they liked mathematics much better than they had previously. The investigator reported that further work had been done on this type of restructuring and there were indications that some pupils preferred the power-structured classroom. For these pupils, the author suggested motivation training to help them acquire those motives appropriate and necessary for using achievement motivation. The author had prefaced his report with the comment that restructuring was done to help put pupils in charge of their own learning and in the hope that achievement motivation brought to the school by entering pupils would survive and flourish.

Duffey and Martin (1973) investigated the interaction between direct and indirect teaching styles as defined by the Flanders Interaction Analysis instrument, and the trait anxiety of pupils measured by the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory of Spielberger, Gorsuch, and

Lushene (1968). High and low trait anxiety measures are indicative of the individual's general tendency to respond with anxiety to cues of threat. High trait anxious persons respond to minimal cues of threat with anxiety and become highly anxious under more threatening or stressful circumstances. Low trait anxious persons exhibit less anxiety in response to cues of threat or conditions of stress. Trait anxiety might be considered as a general and characteristic response set, while state anxiety refers to the specific response of anxiety to a specific threat stimulus. The investigators considered the often-hypothesized relationship between the ability to learn or to perform and the anxiety engendered by the learning or performing situation, and hypothesized further that pupils with high trait anxiety would demonstrate significantly greater recall of academic material under indirect teacher influence when compared to low trait anxious pupils under indirect teacher influence, and that subjects with low trait anxiety would demonstrate better recall under direct teacher influence than subjects with high trait anxiety. The anxiety inventory was administered to 62 fatherless sixth-grade boys attending a private school. The 26 highest scoring and 26 lowest scoring subjects were selected from this group for the academic treatment and were then assigned randomly to either a direct or indirect teacher influence group. A pre- and posttest measure of achievement was administered to all four groups covering the material presented in a 10-minute taped lesson. The material was novel and locally interesting for the pupils. The direct group received a 10-minute followup discussion in an indirect style. Both discussions were taped and scored according to the Flanders system by an independent expert to verify that different classroom climates were created in the two discussion sessions in accordance with the Flanders definition. Results of the analysis of covariance did not produce significant main effects for either anxiety or teacher style, but the interaction between trait anxiety and teacher style was statistically significant. High trait anxiety subjects performed significantly better under indirect teacher influence than direct influence. The investigators concluded that high trait anxiety pupils who are sensitive to threat and criticism will perform better in a classroom situation where teachers are more accepting of pupil feelings, use praise and encouragement more frequently and control pupils less directly. In a study on deviant behavior, Noffsinger (1971) found that anxious, withdrawn subjects were able to perform better when they were strongly rewarded and given more feedback about their performance, and noted that his control subjects performed better with less feedback. He suggested that teachers should be aware when reinforcing students for certain behaviors that a balance needs to be maintained between pupil anxiety and reduction of anxiety through rewards. The relationship between anxiety and academic performance appears to be as strongly curvilinear as the relationship of anxiety and performance in athletics--both too much and too little anxiety inhibit performance, but a proper balance enhances performance.

Pupil Support Through Teacher Response and Feedback

By responding to pupils and providing feedback on pupil performances the teacher can provide a positive reflection on the impact of pupil performance.

Positive responses help pupils acquire motivation and along with relevant feedback, help pupils acquire goal-directed behaviors and mastery in performance. A study by Christensen (1960) was designed to investigate the effects of teacher warmth as an affective, motivating factor, teacher permissiveness-directiveness as a guidance factor, and pupil affect-need as a response modifier. These were all used as independent variables, with pupil achievement as the dependent variable in the study. Ten fifth-grade classes and 10 fourth-grade teachers and their 10 classes from a suburban school in the northeast comprised the sample population. The fifth-grade teachers were not included. Measures of teacher warmth and permissiveness were obtained from an instrument incorporating items of existing scales with items devised by the investigator. A definitive description of this variable is not given in the investigator's report, but sample items given indicate that permissiveness includes at least some elements of Flander's indirectness. Measures of pupil affect-need were obtained from existing scales and achievement data was compiled from a standardized achievement test having five subtest categories. The achievement test had been administered to the present fifth-grade subjects in the beginning of their fourth-grade year and again at the beginning of the fifth-grade year. These subjects were grouped according to their fourth-grade teachers and the data analyzed for growth in achievement. Eight of the ten teachers with the most extreme scores were classified into four groups, two teachers to a group: High Permissiveness-High Warmth; High Warmth-Low Permissiveness; Low Warmth-High Permissiveness; and Low Warmth-Low Permissiveness.

Pupils were divided into High and Low Affect-Need groups and ten of each group were selected for each teacher. The results of this study indicated only two significant relationships. Achievement growth in vocabulary and arithmetic were significantly greater for teachers of high warmth. No significant relationships or interactions were found for the remaining variables. The author concluded that the results of this study support the contention that affective response (warmth) is more important for growth in achievement than permissiveness.

A simple but effective study reported by Page (1958), investigated the effects of teacher comment on pupil performance. Random selection was made of 74 secondary teachers from three school districts, and each teacher chose one class from among his available classes as subjects for the experiment, for a total of 2,139 pupil subjects. Teachers gave their regularly scheduled objective test in their own subject area, math, English, social studies, etc. These tests were corrected in the usual way and letter grades assigned in accordance with the teacher's individual practice. Test papers were then placed in numerical rank order with the best paper on top. By the roll of a special die indicating one of three categories, "No Comment," "Free Comment," or "Special Comment," the top paper was assigned to one of the groups. The second paper was assigned to a category by another roll of the die and the third paper went to the remaining unused category. Papers were distributed in this manner until all were categorized. The No Comment group received only the letter grade, Free Comment papers received comments made at the teacher's discretion and inspiration, and Special Comment papers received comments devised by the investigator that were considered to be supportive and relevant to the letter grade received. The papers were returned without attention being drawn to teacher comment or lack of it, and students remained unaware of the experiment in which they were involved. Scores obtained from the next objective test taken by the pupil subjects were used as the basis for measuring change in pupil performance after required statistical procedures produced scores appropriate for such analysis. The statistically significant results indicated that on the second test the Free Comment Group made the most improvement, the Specified Comment Group were second and the No Comment Group made the least improvement. Thus, teacher comments on returned test papers had a beneficial effect upon the subsequent performance of pupils. Further analysis revealed no significant differences of comment-effect between schools and no significant or conclusive differences of comment-effect appeared by grade levels, although there were indications that pupils in higher grades were more responsive than those at the lowest (7th) grade level. Teachers had been asked to predict the effect of their comments on their pupils by giving a numerical ranking. From this ranking, it could be concluded that teachers felt their better performing pupils would be more responsive to their comments. Among the "F" students, however, the response to teacher comments proved to be most effective.

Teacher use of praise and criticism and its effect on pupil-initiated responses, and an added factor of racial integration was investigated in a study by Brown, Payne, Lankewich, and Cornell (1970). These investigators hypothesized that teachers of one race who face a classroom of pupils of another race might be inclined to inhibit their critical behaviors and increase the amount of praise in classroom interaction. A total of twelve teachers from upper elementary grades were selected for the experiment: three white teachers with black students, three black teachers with white students, and six teachers at the same grade levels, with pupils of the same race as the teacher. Class sizes were comparable among all twelve teachers. A 20-minute discussion period was taped in each class and an observer recorded the pupil-initiated responses occurring during the 20-minute period. Pupils who raised their hands in response to teacher questions, and pupils who tried to respond without raising their hands were counted as having initiated responses. Pupils responding for the second time to a repeated question were not counted, nor were responses made at the demand of the teacher, or "forced" responses, counted. The recorded discussions were analyzed and divided into four praise categories and three criticism categories. The results indicated that teachers of one race facing pupils of another used significantly more praise in classroom interaction than teachers with pupils of the same race. Differences in teacher use of criticism were not statistically significant for the two groups, but the trend indicated less criticism being used in the classrooms where teacher race differed from that of pupils. Measures of pupil initiated response also indicated that pupils in "mixed" classrooms initiated significantly more responses than pupils whose teachers were of the same race. Although the racial factor cannot be said to conclusively inhibit critical behaviors, in this sample praise behaviors and pupil initiated responses appeared to be enhanced by the racial circumstances. In a study reported earlier, however, Rubovitz and Maehr (1973) had reported that in a classroom where pupils were mixed by race, black pupils received more criticism, less attention, and less praise than their white counterparts, which suggests that the use of praise and criticism may have other dimensions to be investigated with regard to race and racial integration.

Pupil Response to Specific Motivational and Incentive Techniques

In the Extension of Self construct we are interested in the motives supplied to the developing self which could be termed "extrinsic" and the incentives used to help the developing self acquire values and standards that relate him to his society and culture. In acquiring behaviors and skills, both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations interact to produce performance, but the relationship between values, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, and performance are not self-evident.

Clifford (1972) investigated the effects of the two forms of competition, reward-competition and game-competition, on the performance, interest, and retention of 66 classes of fifth-grade pupils in a northern city. The task required for the study was presented as routine and consisted of a two-week vocabulary learning task developed by the investigator. Classes remained intact and classroom teachers acted as the experimenters. Pupils were advised that their performance on this task would not be a part of their regular evaluation.

The investigator felt that this would remove the report card as a dominant motivating factor. (It would also, in our opinion, remove the learning task from the "routine" category.) Control for the experiment was supplied by classes engaged in the task in a non-competitive situation. For the reward condition, score comparisons were made daily among "relatively homogeneous students" or students of like abilities, and high scorers were rewarded with Life-Savers. The classes were organized into four groups on the basis of reading ability for these comparisons and group membership remained constant. Subjects in the game treatment were also divided into homogeneous groups by reading ability and,after scores were obtained, markers were moved on a large board to represent rank order of performance for each individual within his group. The two high scoring players from each group received a black tab to be attached to his marker. These winners were also given the option of identifying another vocabulary word which earned another black tab if the answer was correct and the loss of a tab if the answer was incorrect. The object of the game was to get as many tabs as possible.

The results of comparisons between the competition treatment groups and the control groups indicated that interest was significantly higher in the competition groups, but competition had not positively influenced either performance or retention. Comparison between the two competition treatment groups indicated that there were no significant differences in the effects of the two forms on any of the three variables. Further analysis indicated a very low correlation between the three dependent variables and sex, and a relatively high correlation between IQ, performance, and retention.

However, IQ was negatively related with interest. The investigator's examination of the data, theories of motivation, and the general model of motivation, lead to a revision of the model to suggest that (1)intrinsic motivation becomes increasingly important as task complexity increases; (2) extrinsic motivation becomes decreasingly important as task complexity increases; and (3) that extrinsic motivation becomes increasingly important as intrinsic motivation becomes decreasingly important. The author commented further that in the classroom situation where students encounter problem-solving tasks, the emphasis should be upon intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation, and suggests that the possibilities for manipulating intrinsic motivation should be investigated further.

According to Mohan (1971) one of the teacher's major problems in the classroom is the lack of motivation for learning among pupils at all levels, and this problem is further compounded by the lack of knowledge about motivation and complicated by the fact that teachers must approach the problem on a group basis. In a study reported by Mohan, peer tutoring was tried as a technique for increasing the motivation of underachieving pupils. Tutors were selected from underachievers in the seventh and eighth grades, and paired with underachievers from the second and third grades. The evaluation of the program was based upon statements made by the teachers who reported the effects upon pupil performance and motivation, and the comments of the subjects. According to these reports, all but one of the subjects reported that they liked the program and their teachers reported that they had shown increased performance and responsibility as a result of the program. The one subject who did not benefit was reported to be considerably emotionally disturbed, with learning problems beyond the limits the tutoring program could address.

Wasik (1970) reported the success of manipulating access to a free-choice activity time in increasing the appropriate behavior of second-grade pupils in a culturally deprived area. In a study reported by Benowitz and Busse (1970), fourth-grade boys and girls both increased spelling scores when offered a box of crayons. The subjects of the study were black students from low socioeconomic backgrounds who were asked to learn spelling words during a two-week program. Test scores were compared for differences between materially rewarded and socially rewarded (grade score) achievement. The authors commented that the pupil who achieved the least under social-reward conditions made the most gain when given a material reward. The investigators suggested that there are possibilities for improving the performance of lower socioeconomic pupils by the use of "meaningful" rewards, and suggested that further research on the effects of continuing material reward reinforcement over a period of time in the classroom situation should be done.

Cartwright (1970) reported that elementary school students tested under conditions of high-preference reward and low-preference reward on two school-related tasks, one requiring association and the other perseverance, revealed no significant difference between the performance of low- versus high-preference rewarded subjects on either task. The investigator noted that the pupils tended to perform in accordance with their already established performance histories. The investigator also reported that several of the subjects rewarded with their low-preference reward refused to accept the reward, and the author concluded that care should be exercised when group or individual incentives are being offered as motivation for performance. There is also perhaps some discrepancy between an adult experimenter's interpretation of "preference" and that of elementary children. Children asked to choose between two exhibited "rewards" may oblige by choosing without attaching the significance of "preference" to the process.

Teachers spend a good deal of time presenting and demonstrating behaviors and skills prescribed for pupil mastery. This is followed by the teacher's obligation to elicit performance demonstrating the extent of mastery and evaluating the quality of the performance. Every phase of this process presents problems for teachers and for pupils. Mastery of skills and behaviors can be motivated by valuing the behavior or skill as a means of serving the values and needs of the developing self. The extension of self depends upon the developing self's perception of the impact of his performance in relation to his existing self-concept and the service his performance will render to the maintenance of his self-concept.

Teacher Behaviors and Pupil Performance

Theoretically, the objective of the Performing Self is to achieve a reflection of self from significant others and the environment through the impact of his performance. In a school situation the teacher and peers of a pupil are significant others and, along with the applied goals, standards, and demands of the social and academic events in the school situation, become the reflecting environment for the developing self.

The initial expenditure of effort and energy used to achieve impact on this environment will be determined by the value system of the developing self and the state of self-concept already acquired. The degree of self-extension in each psychological event is governed by the estimation of risk, threat, or affirmation inherent in the event for the existing self-concept,and the performance of the developing self will be in accord with this anticipated impact. The performance that receives a more positive reflection than anticipated modifies the subsequent estimation of risk and reward inherent in similar situations encountered later. Performance that achieves a less positive or a negative reflection inhibits the extension of self and alters the subsequent performance of self in future similar situations. When performance is ignored or neutrally reflected, the previous experience of the developing self influences the interpretation of the perceived impact. If in the previous experience of the developing self only errors of performance and not correct performance are acknowledged, a neutral response may be interpreted as positive, but if correct performance received acknowledgement in past experiences, the neutrality may be interpreted as a negative impact. The importance of these two possibilities of interpretation becomes increasingly evident in the behavior of the developing self with respect to the acquisition of internalized standards, self-control,and self-direction. When, by extreme example, only negative or incorrect behavior receive attention from significant others, only the negative behaviors observed by the significant other will be attended to. All other negative and positive behaviors may then be indiscriminately grouped and perceived by the developing self as permissable behaviors. If, on the other hand, only correct performances, again confined to those observed, are attended by the significant others, all other positive and negative behaviors may be indiscriminately grouped as not permissable. In either extreme, the processes of association and differentiation leading to concept development and the formation of behavioral schema for goal-directed behaviors are severely curtailed and the consequences may be either self-damaging,asocial,non-conforming behavior or exaggerated conformity. When previous experience has not been characterized by the two described extremes, but has been a reasonable balance of affirmation and formative criticism, neutrally reflected performances may be interpreted in the light of the value system held by the developing self. The value of a particular behavior as an effective producer of reflected impact is reduced by neutral response and reflection. If the behavior has no other purpose or value other than that derived from impact, the behavior may be discarded. If other needs of the developing self are met through the particular behavior, it may well be retained.

Whether behaviors and skills are acquired through conditioning, modeling, or cognitive structuring and restructuring, the extent of acquisition and the subsequent level of performance are psychologically dependent upon the value system of the developing self and the reflection and evaluation of his performances. Theoretically, then, those conditions which maximize both the opportunity to confront new experiences and to perform with the benefits of formative evaluation and feedback, provide the developing self with a positive reflection of his impact upon his environment. Such experiences are ideal for the development of the Performing Self and will have a positive influence on the sense of Self-Extension, increasing the level of participation, motivating achievement, and encouraging the developing self to make positive contributions to the supporting society.

There are many obstacles in the path of the teacher who would like to create a more ideal environment in the classroom for maximizing the opportunities and experiences necessary to the many Performing Selves of the classroom. The teacher as prime reflector and evaluator is at a great disadvantage both for time and the physical limitation of one pair of eyes, even when experience has produced the often described pair of eyes in the back of the head. But even more disabling is the concept of the teacher as the only reflector and evaluator in the classroom. Although much has been done towards individualizing the academic work presented to pupils, the problem of individualizing the relationship between teacher and pupil remains, and a part of that problem will continue to be the orientation of the teacher toward pupils. In a program designed to help teachers assume a "therapeutic" role (Kranz, 1972), teachers reported six problems, all of which relate to the teacher's attitude toward pupils: (1) the expectation of instant, positive results for their efforts; (2) an eagerness to direct the child along prescribed educational routes rather than a child-paced route; (3) a difficulty in tolerating silence and non-verbal periods; (4) problems with focusing on the child's feelings; (5) confusing the functions of the therapist role with that of the teacher; and (6) resistance in accepting the child as he presents himself in the situation. Each one of these attitudes contains the potential for limiting the performance of the pupil's developing self, but each one of these attitudes is also highly amenable to change.

In a study of 76 camping subjects and their parents, Friedman (1969) found that in this 7-13-year-old age group, the children who were selected as leaders and who exhibited leadership qualities were children whose parents agreed in their perception of the child as an autonomous individual. While all children cannot be leaders, there is a sense in which they should each be encouraged to be "leaders" in their own educating processes, even when their constituency consists of only one, themselves. Encouragement toward participation and contribution in the classroom appears to be facilitated by the conditions in the classroom brought about by several types of teacher behavior. White and Howard (1970) examined the effects of two forms of instructional treatment on two groups of seventh-grade boys in a science course. The boys were divided into groups designated as "internally controlled," and "externally controlled." The 32 students were then randomly assigned to two types of instructional treatment designated as pupil-directed and teacher-directed for a period of 16 weeks. Difference in the two treatment conditions was determined by the amount of control exercised by the teacher. Subjects were pretested and posttested on a standard science test which covered the objectives of the experimental unit and in the analysis, pupil IQ was also used as a control variable. The achievement of the boys classified as internally directed was not significantly affected by the two forms of instructional treatment, but the achievement of the externally controlled boys was significantly greater under the instructional system that allowed them more participation in and contribution to the structuring of the learning situation. In a study primarily aimed at examining differences in teachers' use of criticism and blame in situations where the teacher's race was different from that of the pupils (Brown, Payne, Lankewich and Cornell, 1970), it was reported that in those classrooms where praise was used a great deal observers recorded a significantly higher number of pupil-initiated responses.

In a study reported by Tardiff (1971) teachers trained to analyze and modify their own verbal teaching behaviors toward improving the level of critical thinking and participation in their pupils were compared with a matched control group of teachers without training. Twelve intermediate teachers and their classes were randomly assigned to either a training or control group. The teachers were videotaped conducting their social science classes prior to the special training and their pupils were pretested and posttested on a published test for critical thinking at the beginning and end of the 13-week experimental period. The participating teachers were videotaped at least four times during the experimental period and the first and last videotapes became the source for data to test the hypothesis that training would differentiate between these two groups of teachers. Teachers who were trained showed significant improvement over the control teachers in their ability to increase the level of pupil participation and contribution in the verbal activity of the classroom and to reduce the level of trivial responses and teacher directives. The author commented that the altered behavior of the pupils under the experimental condition no doubt contributed to the increased alteration of teacher behavior.

Farnham-Diggory and Ramsey (1971) examined pupil play-persistance following a period of play which had been constantly interrupted by the experimenter. The 56 five-year-old disadvantaged girls who were the experimental subjects in this study showed significantly less persistance in performing a subsequent task when compared with a non-interrupted, matched control group. Interrupting behavior can be related by theory to attitudes of disrespect for individuals and to the arbitrary use of the power to dominate. This study suggests that pupils' ability to concentrate on tasks may be negatively influenced by teachers' interrupting behavior.

A study incorporating the concept of pupil values and perception of self-impact upon others and the environment (Epperson ,1963) investigated the effects of classroom environment and teacher behavior upon the level of pupil academic performance. The investigation was conducted with 753 pupils in grades three through twelve and their respective teachers. The 27 classrooms involved represented a broad part of the socioeconomic spectrum of this country. Forty per cent of the pupil sample were from middle-class or professional homes and the total sample had a mean IQ slightly above the average. Epperson hypothesized that pupils seek to control their environment and to influence others so that they may be seen by their peers as capable performers in the academic and social areas of the school environment. It was further hypothesized that pupils who do not achieve control and influence become alienated from their peers and teachers. Two forms of alienation were identified by the investigator. Isolation was defined as the pupil's designation of a low reward value to behaviors he perceives as highly valued by his class peers. Powerlessness was defined as the pupil's negative estimation of his ability to influence the occurrence of rewards by his own behavior. A dimension of exclusion was measured by the number of nominations for each pupil as one of four "most liked" in order of preference, and one of four "least liked" in order of non-preference. Instruments measuring the alienation, exclusion, and actualization (potential vs. actual performance level for each pupil) were analyzed for relationships. Although it was not described in the report, teachers apparently also rated pupils on the dimension of exclusion. The author reported that the teacher exclusion variable was significantly related to the pupil's feelings of isolation from the teacher, but that exclusion by peers was not significantly related to feelings of isolation from peers. A pupil's ability to perform tasks was more highly related to peer exclusion than to the dimension of pupil social powerlessness. The author suggested that pupils are made more aware of each other's failures and successes on academic tasks than on social or leadership tasks in the school situation. In this study pupils were more often seen as possessing both social power and expertise in classroom tasks rather than as having social power without expertise in classroom tasks, but pupils were also often seen as having classroom task power without social power. Both task and social powerlessness were positively related to low actualization of academic potential. The investigator concluded that pupils who are excluded by the teacher feel alienated from the teacher and the teacher's values. Epperson also suggested that teachers exclude deviates in the classroom, whereas pupils do not, and therefore deviates feel sure of their status with the teacher, but not as sure of their status with their peers. For the general population, the implications of this study are that high pupil isolation and high pupil powerlessness are both related to low actualization of a pupil's academic performance potential. Glick (1970) also found that attitudes toward school were not influenced by the extent of friendship involvement in his study with a sample of sixth-grade classrooms. Peer relationships appeared to be formed in accordance with existing attitudes toward school, but pupils who were given high status in the classroom functioned as models of favorable attitudes toward school for their peers even without a social relationship.

Guerney and Flumen (1970) reported that teachers were able to raise the assertive behavior of withdrawn pupils significantly in their relationships with peers. The teachers in this study had been instructed in play therapy techniques and had devoted 45 minutes weekly for 14 weeks to 9 of the most withdrawn pupils in their elementary classrooms.

Both Fleming (1969) and Mohan (1971) have reported the positive effects of programs involving cross-peer tutoring. Pupils who were designated as under-achievers in the seventh and eighth grades were asked to tutor pupils also seen as underachievers in the second and third grades resulting in increased participation and achievement from both tutors and tutees as reported by their respective teachers. Fleming reported the use of tutoring, not simply for special groups, but as a part of the program for a total eighth-grade class who prepared lessons to be taught to pupils in primary and elementary grades. This program also reported positive responses from all pupils and beneficial effects on education for pupils at all levels.

The simple operation of including personal feedback and evaluation comments on the test papers returned to pupils was found by Page (1958) to produce a significant difference in the subsequent test performance of pupils. This study, reported earlier, effectively demonstrates the possibilities inherent in the classroom for altering teacher behavior and pupil behavior toward increasing the performance, participation, and contributions of the Performing Self and further developing a positive sense of Self-Extension.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Creativity

The most highly valued characteristic of the Performing Self is vested in the word "creative." To be creative implies a direct and recognized relationship between a Performing Self and a valued process or product. It imputes a quality of uniqueness and originality to a contribution of the Performing Self or implies the potential to make a unique and original contribution. In this light, it might also be considered as reflecting a particularly new or fresh approach, or an open attitude that provides new associations, new concepts, or restructuring of concepts. Creativity appears to be a dimension quite independent of those cognitive dimensions generally measured by achievement tests and IQ tests, which more often represent individual cognitive acceleration and accretion in relation to a chronological norm. Creativity might be thought of as a "depth" dimension, related to, but independent of, the"height" and "breadth" dimensions measured by IQ and achievement testing.

Creativity can also be considered apart from two other exceptional characteristics of the Performing Self, talent and giftedness, although a combination of talent and giftedness with creativity is usually the source of highest honor and value bestowed upon the Performing Self by the benefitting culture.

Considering creativity as another cognitive dimension suggests that, like intelligence, creativity appears in the general population and could be scaled along a continuum from "low" to "high" rather than as a simple dichotomy of absence and presence. Such a concept does not preclude the use of "creative" as a quality or characteristic of behaviors or products any more than the concept of intelligence as a cognitive dimension has prevented certain behaviors or products from being categorized as unintelligent or highly intelligent. The concept of creativity as a separate domain was given prominence when it was advocated by J. P. Guilford in his presidential address to the American Psychological Association in 1950 (Getzels and Dillon, 1973). Efforts to identify, define, and design measures for factors that comprise the domain of creativity have been undertaken by a great number of psychologists in the last two decades. An adequate and helpful review of the concepts of creativity, the questions and problems formulated, the research reported and the progress made to date can be found in the Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (Getzels & Dillon, 1973).

One component of creativity that has been identified and extensively researched is divergent thinking, a cognitive process defined as producing additional information from given information with an emphasis on variety and quality. It also includes an ability to adapt and modify information and requires a facile and flexible intellect. Products of this process are called divergent products, and tests designed to measure divergent thinking elicit divergent-product responses. The defined opposite of divergent thinking is convergent thinking, characterized as a cognitive process where information is used to derive a single best answer or a correct response. Present literature on creativity associates divergent thinking with creativity and convergent thinking with achievement orientation. Although these two categories are now used to indicate a style or preference for cognitive behaviors, the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The possibility that the development and preference for either of these two modes of thinking might be the result of environmental influence has also been considered (Eisenman & Schussel, 1970; Getzels & Jackson, 1961, 1962). When we consider the theoretical importance of the significant other and the environment, and the influence wielded by these two sources of information and approval, it seems logical that the acquired mode of cognitive behavior would reflect the nature of the psychological experiences in the behavioral dialogue as clearly as acquired social behaviors reflect these influences. When the role of the developing self is confined by the significant other to one of accepting interpretations of events without question, or when the significant other restricts exploration, and approves conforming and convergent behaviors only, then the behaviors receiving the most practice and the most positive reflection are those categorized as convergent. If, on the other hand, the experiences within the behavioral dialogue affirmed questioning and explorative behavior and rewarded non-conforming responses as well as conforming responses, the developing self would exercise both convergent and divergent cognitive processes. When products of creative behavior are acknowledged and approved by significant others and the environment, creativity becomes a source of positive self-identity and a means of acquiring self-esteem. The perceived positive impact would then encourage the individual's divergent thinking and reinforce creative behavior. Torrance (1969) investigated the relationship of the cultural environment and the role of significant others to the promotion of creative functioning in children. It was his contention that the values of the culture would determine the level of creative functioning and the direction and focus for creative behaviors. Data were collected from 11 cultures or sub-cultures for comparison. Comparison groups were comprised of from 500 to 1,500 children within grades one through six and their teachers. From these data the investigator identified two ways in which culture motivates creative behavior: (1) by encouraging behaviors that facilitate creative functioning and discouraging those that do not, and (2) by making outlets for careers in creative arts and sciences available to members of a culture.

Walker (1969) investigated four high school environments, two of which were designated as favorable to creativity and two which were designated as traditional, in relation to two teacher dimensions, authoritarianism and rationality. It was hypothesized that schools having supportive climates for creativity would have a teaching staff that scored lower on measures of authority and higher on measures of rationality than the teaching staff of the traditional schools. Results indicated that teachers from the designated creative schools scored significantly lower on authoritarianism than those of the traditional school, but there was no significant difference in scores of rationality. Since no measures of pupil creativity were considered, it is only possible to conclude that the two high schools designated by the advisory panel as meeting the criterion for climates supportive of creativity were staffed by teachers who scored lower on the dimension of authoritarianism than teachers staffing the two high schools which did not meet the criterion.

Anderson, White, and Stevens (1969) investigated the relationship between teacher behavior as perceived by the pupils and pupil creativity. Pupils from grades 9 through 12 were randomly selected from a suburban school forming a sample population of 197 students. Three measures of pupil creativity and ratings of teacher behavior were collected along with school supplied data on pupil IQ and achievement. The results of analysis indicated that teacher behaviors representing knowledgeability and democratic leadership were positively related to pupil creativity, and teacher behaviors perceived as "friendly, cheerful, and admired" were negatively related to creative pupil responses in this population.

A study in which pupils were given creativity and achievement tests was reported by Merz and Rutherford (1972). Four subtests covering achievement in vocabulary, reading, work-study, and arithmetic were administered and four creative tasks were assigned to 639 fifth-grade pupils enrolled in a public school of a large midwestern suburb. In addition, two teacher judgment scales measuring teacher judgments of pupil performance in language arts and social studies, and pupil performance in mathematics and science were included for each pupil. The investigators were able to establish that three separate factors, achievement, creativity, and teacher judgment, were being measured. Teacher judgments and scholastic achievement were found to be more clearly related to each other than to performance on the creativity tests. A low positive relationship was found between the achievement test scores and the creativity task scores. There was also a low positive relationship between teacher judgment and creativity task scores. The authors concluded that pupils who perform well on achievement tests are probably more favorably rated by their teachers than pupils whose performance is poor and that teachers in this study also perceived creative pupils as more able than less creative pupils. The authors further commented that the correlations obtained in this study suggested a relationship between creativity and academic test performance and between teacher judgment and creativity. The authors concluded that the evidence of their study indicated that measures and evaluations of divergent thinking are not being obtained and, if divergent thinking is indeed important in the educational process, it is important that it be both measured and evaluated.

Information relevant to pupil creativity and the role of convergent and divergent (direct and indirect) teaching modes in achieving concrete and abstract learning objectives was reported by Soar (1968). This study also investigated a possible curvilinear relationship between specific teacher behaviors, pupil anxiety, and pupil performance. Soar hypothesized that optimal levels of direct and indirect teacher behaviors might be identified by measures of these variables. The sample population consisted of 54 classrooms, grades three through six. The investigator reported that pupil growth in creativity increased as teacher indirectness increased and that both low-anxious and high-anxious pupils continued to increase their creativity under indirect teachers although the rate of increase was steeper for the low-anxious pupils. After stressing the limitations of the sample and the study, Soar concluded that this study clearly indicated the relationship between teaching style and learning objective, e.g., concrete material such as spelling, number facts, foreign language vocabulary, etc., should be highly structured and taught in a direct style, while material dealing with concepts and creativity should be taught with less structure and with an indirect style. Soar commented that an effective teacher would be one who could shift to teaching modes appropriate to the subject matter. The author also suggested that one weakness of progressive education might be found in the failure to recognize the need for direct teaching of concrete objectives and commented that a broad concept of educational permissiveness that provides for the warmth essential to pupil growth may exclude equally necessary teacher directiveness.

Cheong (1970) reported the results of a study related to Dewey's philosophy of experimental teaching attitudes, which in turn, is strongly related to the process of divergent thinking. A self-reporting instrument measuring experimental attitudes expressed in Dewey's philosophy was developed and administered to third- and fourth-grade pupils and their teachers. The pretest given to the pupils was administered at the beginning of the school term before pupils were familiar with their teacher and did not ask them to respond in reference to their present teacher. The posttest reordered the item sequence by randomization and required the pupil to respond to items in reference to his present teacher. Teachers were given the self-reporting test during their fall orientation meeting, and four teachers were selected according to their scores, two scoring high in experimental attitude and two scoring low. The classrooms of these four teachers became the pupil population for the study. The investigator had hypothesized that pupils taught by a high-scoring teacher would be more experimental in attitude than pupils of low-scoring teachers after one academic year , but analysis of the data showed no significant difference between the attitudes of the two groups of pupils. Cheong found, however, that teachers who reported themselves as higher in experimental attitude were perceived by their pupils as being higher in experimental attitude. He also found that pupils of both groups reported themselves higher in experimental attitude than their teachers, with considerably more discrepancy between the scores of low-scoring teachers and their pupils. The sample items from the self-report instrument provided in the report of this study caused us to suspect that the instrument may have been tapping something more closely related to pupil attitude toward authority than pupil attitude toward experimentation.

A study evaluating the results of an 8-month program during which 17 fifth- and sixth-grade pupils with a mean IQ of 139 were given instruction on Guilford's five mental operations was reported by Bachtold and Werner (1970). These gifted students were also taught to compose questions which would elicit four modes of response and were given regular assignments for experiences in creative thinking from a creative curriculum workbook. Prior to training,the subjects had been tested for creative ability and were asked to record their vocational goals. Following the 8 months of training, a posttest of creative ability was readministered and subjects were again asked to indicate their vocational goals. The results of this study, which should be considered only as suggestive due to the small number of subjects involved, indicated that the 8 months of training had not only not improved the posttest scores, but had slightly decreased the fluency on divergent thinking tasks and had not significantly advanced the flexibility of responses on the same tests. Fluency and flexibility of responses on tests of evaluative thinking were significantly improved, however. A comparison of mean scores in fluency and flexibility showed that boys had higher pre- and posttest scores on tasks requiring divergent thinking, while girls had higher pre- and posttest scores for fluency and flexibility on tasks requiring evaluative thinking. On the posttest, both sexes showed a decrease in fluency on the divergent thinking task and both sexes showed an increase in fluency on the evaluative thinking task. The authors note that no other studies have reported that girls do better on evaluative thinking tasks, although boys have been consistently reported as higher on divergent products. The author suggested that the reported differences may be due to sex role expectations. The vocational recordings showed evidence of sextyping in that gifted girls chose service occupations of considerably lower professional status than the gifted boys. Choices of the boys changed over the 8-month period toward occupations requiring higher education and preparation, but choices of the girls were relatively unchanged after the training period. Perhaps this lack of change is related to item (2) identified by Torrance (1969), which suggests that the culture motivates by providing opportunities for careers in creative arts and sciences. Girls are apparently not offered the same options for outlets through creative careers that are present and available for boys in our society.

Two programs, each purporting to develop creative abilities in pupils were compared in a study by Shively, Feldhusen and Treffinger (1972). The 16 participating fifth-grade teachers were given a battery of tests for creativity and were divided into two groups by a median split to represent high and low divergent thinking teachers. These teachers, along with their 377 fifth-grade pupils, were randomly assigned to one of four treatment groups provided by the two creativity programs and a teacher-led discussion treatment. All participating pupils were given a pretest of creativity abilities. The reported results indicated that both program groups made significant gains on posttests of creative ability, but one program appeared to produce more consistent gains across all variables measured than the other. Groups in which the teacher did no discussion-leading attained higher posttest scores than those with teacher-led discussion. Groups with highly creative teachers scored significantly higher on verbal originality and also had somewhat higher scores on fluency and flexibility when combined with the more effective program. The investigators offered several cautions which were highly warranted. The difference in the effects of the two programs may have been due to the fact that the less effective program was not used in its entirety and was used three times a week instead of once a week in accordance with its design. According to the authors, it is also possible that teachers in the discussion groups did not do appreciably more than teachers in the no-discussion groups. Teacher activity was not measured or monitored.

In considering the effects of training on the test scores of these fifth-grade pupils, and the effects of training on the test scores of the high-IQ fifth-sixth grade pupils in the Cheong study, several possibilities for the poor test results obtained from these gifted children occur to us. In one study gifted children were taught about intelligence and structuring questions to elicit special responses. No mention is made as to whether this teaching was done directly or indirectly, nor was there any evidence given that the pupils had acquired cognitive knowledge about cognitive processes. But it also seems very likely that these students would have gained sufficient insight into the nature of the creative ability tests administered to be aware of task purposes. This information may have inhibited performance by raising anxiety levels, but it also may have been an instance where time was consumed "evaluating" the flexibility and fluency tasks as well as the evaluative thinking task. In the training approach for these gifted subjects, the process of test taking may have become more convergent than divergent.

Teacher behaviors that foster creativity appear to be those that minimize the directing and criticizing functions of the teacher in the classroom. The influence of cultural values on divergent products and creative behaviors may not only be applied to behaviors that are encouraged or discouraged, but also to the behaviors that are encouraged and discouraged depending upon the sex of the performer. Creative behavior seems as closely linked to intelligence as to the positive effects of (1) acceptance and approval of task-directed but non-conforming behaviors, (2) acceptance of pupil ideas and exploration, (3) basic attitudes of trust that allow risk taking, and (4) freedom within cultural sex roles.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Performance in Decision-Making and Goal Setting

The Performing Self is responsible for the acquisition of decision-making and goal-setting skills and behaviors. The performance of these skills and behaviors will reflect the level of concept formation, the adequacy of the behavioral schema development, and the operational value system of the self.

In the early phases of the behavioral dialogue the acquisition of skills and behaviors become a source and a means by which the developing self gained approval and autonomy. Through the mastery of skills and the control of behavior, the Performing Self achieves the positive reflection of self and the evidence of his impact upon significant others and the environment. The effort to be expended in acquiring a skill or expressing through behavior is cued by the value system, while the mastery of the skill and the control of the behavior are influenced by both value and ability. Theoretically, the individual's effort and extension of self could be encouraged by establishing a value relationship between performance and approval, or performance and autonomy. Individual ability could be increased by information and experiences that encourage concept development and an association of behaviors and skills with goal-achievement.

The processes of goal-setting and decision-making are experienced and observed by the developing self on an informal basis long before he reaches school age, but goal-setting and decision-making performances are usually rather limited in nature. For most young children the formal process of goal-setting is associated with improvement and exercise of acquired skills and behaviors having already established values for gains in approval or autonomy or rewards of prizes and privileges. Formal decision-making has usually been confined to one aspect of the process--a choice of offered alternatives or perhaps the selection of one from several approved options.

Children who have had their socialization process characterized by gains in approval and autonomy may find the socialization process in the school system a frightening and unsatisfactory experience. Most school systems find it more efficient to stress the negatives of behavior offering disapproval and increased restriction as incentives for acquiring social behavior rather than approval and increased autonomy. Pupils who value school-related behavior and academic achievement as a means of obtaining approval or autonomy reinforce the present behaviors of teachers and administrators; pupils who do not positively value the behaviors required or the skills to be acquired are forcing a reevaluation of the educational system. The process of reevaluation may eventuate in change, and change will require decision-making and goal-setting on the part of professional educators and the society at large. Those who undertake to make the decisions and set the goals for national education should encounter ample evidence that decision-making behaviors and goal-setting behaviors are not merely-technical skills to be acquired, but are also behaviors that express values.

Two of the goals for education which have been expressed in a variety of ways are to produce a citizenry capable of governing itself and providing economic security for itself. Both of these goals require the acquisition of responsible behaviors and the mastery of skills. They require both decision-making and goal-setting for purposes of autonomy and self-direction. Where and how does a student acquire these behaviors? Pupils who are allowed to gain approval only through compliant and conforming behavior may not develop the discrimination necessary for assuming responsibility for self-direction and autonomy.

Pupils who are encouraged to value education as a means of acquiring prizes and privileges may lack the proper values for assuming responsible citizenship in a democracy, and pupils who develop autonomy unrelated to the values of the society may also lack the necessary training for responsibilities. These two goals of our educational system can only be achieved by developing the role of the student as a participator in the decision-making and goal-setting processes of education. House (1970) suggests four ways that teachers can help pupils acquire a participating role: (1) allowing students a role in planning, developing, implementing, and evaluating educational experiences, (2) expanding the opportunities for pupils to work with other pupils and other adults, (3) sharing leadership responsibilities in the classroom, and (4) utilizing the original plans and ideas of pupils for enhancing their roles as participators and contributors in the school and community. Thelen (1966) suggests that teachers use their power to organize classroom activities to provide a diversity of experiences so that pupils can experience and learn what purposes can be achieved by various forms of organization. He also suggests that teachers use their power to control the sources of knowledge used in the classroom to include the experiences of pupils as a legitimate source along with "established" sources.

Teachers are also encouraged to expand the roles of students and to perceive the student not only as a classroom member, but as a problem-solver and producer, and to focus attention on these two roles. However, Nash (1968) has reported that pupils and teachers disagree in their perceptions of decision-making roles. In the investigation of this subject with eight classrooms covering the first through the sixth grade (200 pupils, 8 teachers) the investigator found that teachers perceived the pupils as making more decisions than the pupils perceived themselves making. The accuracy of either perception was not tested by actual observation, but the discrepancy in perception should encourage teachers and researchers to investigate whether teachers who attempt to implement the suggestions for increasing pupil participation in the decision-making or goal-setting roles actually succeed in increasing the opportunities.

In parallel studies with pupils from the first four grades, the investigators examined the effect of goal-setting conferences that provided procedures and practice upon the goal-setting behaviors and achievement of pupils (Gaa, 1970; Marliave, 1970; and Averhart, 1971). The subject population for the reported studies was taken from a predominently black, inner-city school of a large northern city,who came from homes of lower-middle socioeconomic status. Unit B consisted of 63 pupils from the third-fourth grade unit and Unit D had 40 subjects from the first-second grade unit. Pupils placed in the experimental population had not mastered the reading skills to be studied in their respective units during the experimental period. The subjects were grouped by sex and current reading achievement levels and were assigned to one of three treatment groups. Lists of the behavioral objectives were prepared each week from which subjects in the individual conference goal-setting group were asked to select their objectives or goals for the week and the level they felt they could achieve during the week. The objectives were arranged in a hierarchy for level of difficulty. In addition, these subjects were acquainted with the objectives for the week and given opportunities to practice and make sure they understood the objectives to be achieved. They were given reminder sheets that listed the objectives they had selected. In subsequent conferences they were given feedback on the accuracy of their goal-setting and achievement, a review of the skills achieved, and a preview for selection of the next set of goals.

The individual conference group was not asked to select goals, but was told to "do their best" after becoming acquainted with the objectives of the week. In subsequent conferences they reviewed the skills acquired in the previous week, but were not given any feedback on their achievement. The control group had no individual conferences and did not set goals. All groups received the same class instruction in reading skills. In the fifth week, which was also the final week of the experiment, all pupils were asked to set goals for that week and comparisons of goal-setting behaviors were made with these data. In addition to the goal-setting measures, measures of achievement, attitude toward reading, and self-concept were collected from all groups. Marliave (1970) reported that, for Unit B, no significant differences were found for the effect of treatment on any of the dependent measures, and there were no significant effects due to the interaction of treatment by previous level of achievement. The effect of previous level of achievement was significant for measures of attitude, self-esteem, achievement, and goal-setting behavior. The results for Unit D reported by Averhart (1971) indicated no significant differences between treatment groups on goal-setting behavior, self-esteem, achievement, or attitudes, but a significant difference in the treatment by previous achievement interaction with a wider range of mean scores for previous reading achievement groups in the conference treatment than for previous reading achievement groups in the goal-setting treatment. The author suggested that since the self-concept and attitude toward reading scores were initially very high, a ceiling effect may have occurred on these measures. It was also suggested that five weeks may have been too short a time for pupils to acquire significantly different goal-setting behaviors since their inability to accurately set goals, the condition for which they were receiving positive reinforcement, had been so low in the first few weeks that the subjects had actually received very little positive reinforcement. Subjects in the goal-setting group did show increased ability to set more realistic goals (and fewer goals) than subjects in the other treatment groups. Gaa (1970) reported that goal-setting subjects also showed less confidence in their ability to achieve their set goals on the posttest, a result which the investigator suggested could be interpreted as a realization of their need for assistance in achieving the set goals. We could also suggest that a lowering of confidence in achieving the set goals may have been the result of additional threat to the Performing Self of these experimental subjects. The significant differences by achievement level point to the theoretical enhancement of ability rather than effort, and continued reward for the accuracy with which goal setting and achievement converged would not necessarily produce more effort until a value was placed upon the increase in set goals and their achievement. Pupils working for autonomy could be expected, at least theoretically, to make the best use of the improved ability to assess present performance for future goals,while students working for approval or avoidance of negative impact could be expected to maintain consonance at the cost of achievement unless and until they acquired a value for the goals being set and the skills to be acquired.

Teachers have long made it a practice to reward effort as well as ability, a practice which at times obscures the pupil's level of skill acquisition. Another practice that obscures the level of mastery is the practice of grading on the "curve," which only feeds back a class rank by skill rather than the necessary information for mastering a skill. The Performing Self needs accurate information and accurate reflection in order to acquire skills and behaviors to a degree that allows for mastery of skill or control of behavior.

Goal-setting and decision-making behaviors are constantly in use in the classroom, but the models demonstrated in the classroom are essentially those that present both goal-setting and decision-making, not as skills and behaviors to be acquired, but as powers vested in the authority of the teacher and the school administration. If goal-setting and decision-making are viewed as skills and behaviors to be acquired rather than as powers to be wielded, they can be properly leveled and sequenced like other curriculum skills and behaviors.

Teachers who view pupil participation in the educational process as allowing pupils to tell them what to teach, or at the other extreme, who get pupils to assume total responsibility for their own well-being have overlooked the first processes vital to both goal-setting and decision-making, information gathering and assessment. Curriculum materials aimed at helping individuals clarify and explore values, set long- and short-term goals, gather, evaluate, and utilize information, examine risk-taking behaviors, and develop strategies for decision-making are available now for high school level use (School Curriculum, Vol. 13, No. 2, October 1973). Instructional materials for pupil "contracting" also incorporate goal-setting and decision-making processes at levels appropriate for elementary pupil use.

The studies cited in this chapter offer some insights for understanding the Performing Self of pupils and the sense of Self-Extension expressed in pupil performance. It is, after all, the Performing Self of each pupil and the Performing Self of the teacher that is expressed every day in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom.

The findings of the present research suggest that the use of positive response patterns which include appropriate cognitive substance for feedback on pupil behavior creates a more facilitating relationship and a safer psychological climate for pupil performances. It is also suggested that the use of punishments and restrictions unrelated to the behavior under consideration acts only to demonstrate the power of authority and does not contribute to effective discipline which requires that pupils learn from their behaviors. Whether or not these teacher behaviors will have any effect on pupils' motivation for academic achievement is still not satisfactorily answered. However, there is an indication that a positive response pattern may promote a hope for success, which suggests a positive influence on the Sense of Self-Extension, while negative responses to pupil performance may lead to a fear of failure, which suggests that the Sense of Self-Extension would be negatively affected and would result in inhibiting the risk-taking, participation, and contributions of the developing self.

There are also indications in the present research findings that different pupils are differentially affected by the motivating cues of teachers. Differences in response to motivation cues have been noted particularly in relation to the sex of the pupil. The interpretation of these differences are generally related to sex differences determined by cultural roles rather than differences based in the physiological differences between the sexes. Interpretations of the differences in response to motivational cues suggest that girls may already be highly motivated toward academic achievement as a means of gaining approval before teachers introduce their motivating cues.

The indications of sex differences in studies on motivation and their culture-based interpretations reflect the importance of cultural influences that operate in the significant other's interpretations of the role of the developing self. For example, in one social milieu, beginning with the inception of the behavioral dialogue, girls may receive interpretations from signficant others that the success in the female role is determined by the ability to please others and that such success and acceptance does not require the mastery of academic knowledge except as a very limited tool. It may also be communicated that the female's self-worth, the Sense of the Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, Self-Extension, and Self-Image, are strongly vested in a value for physical attributes and a submissive, non-competitive, non-threatening and pleasing attitude toward the male sex. Under this interpretation of the female role, the most effective behavior for producing a positive impact upon significant others and the environment is that of pleasing others, since behaviors addressed toward enhancing physical attributes may not always result in the necessary positive impact. With the understanding that in all relationships and situations acceptance and approval will depend upon the ability to please others, academic achievement may well be the means of gaining approval and acceptance in the school environment. As the source for approval and acceptance shifts to peers and particularly to peers of the opposite sex, academic achievement would lose its value as a means of gaining approval, and may well result in disapproval from the new significant and salient others. If this theorizing does, indeed, reflect reality, we might expect academic failure to have a pronounced adverse effect on the self-concept development of females who are still relating to adults, and particularly their teachers, as significant others.

In another social milieu, girls may receive the interpretation and communication that their future role-success and acceptance may include the ability to support themselves through the performance of socially limited occupational roles. Except for the roles of wife and mother, the most constantly modeled female occupational role in the early experience of girls is the role of the school teacher. It is apparent that this role will require a mastery of academic skills and behaviors at an appropriate level. There is also a demonstrated relationship between academic knowledge and the teaching occupation which is not as clearly demonstrated in the other occupational roles considered culturally appropriate for either males or females. The relationship between the occupational roles of salespersons, doctors, nurses, lawyers, secretaries, mechanics, firemen, policemen, pilots, astronauts, soldiers, bankers, or TV repairmen, to name a few, and the acquisition of primary, elementary, and even some secondary-level academic skills and behaviors is not generally perceived by young pupils.

The social milieus of boys are also the source of sex role interpretations made by significant others and reinforced by the environment, and these role interpretations may have an important influence on boys' motivation for academic achievement. In a social milieu where the interpretation of the boys role stresses approval for more physically active, risk-taking, explorative, and dominating behaviors, motivation for academic achievement may be almost totally lacking. The interpretation of success and acceptance in future male roles may be communicated from the early experiences and thereafter as related primarily to physically manifested male behaviors and the acquisition of motor skills over cognitive behaviors and skills. Regardless of the social milieu, models of adult male roles offer a wide variety of options for future roles, but the relationship between academic knowledge and the performance of these roles, as we have already noted, is rarely clearly established, except for the role of male teacher. When the question of occupational choice becomes more immediate, the relationship between academic knowledge and performance of male occupation roles becomes more constantly communicated and clearly established, and the understanding of the relationship becomes critical as options or choices for future occupations become narrowed by the individual's circumstances. For boys, academic achievement may operate as an alternative to physical performance as a means of gaining approval for performance. In another social milieu, a value for academic achievement as a male attribute and as a tool for future role performance, including the desire for social and economic advancement, may provide the intrinsic motivation for academic achievement.

In our present society where options for female occupational roles are being expanded to include a broader spectrum of physical and professional occupations, we may anticipate some differences between the findings of the present and future research on motivation for academic achievement.

Theoretically, all of the culturally interpreted sex roles could be altered through the reinterpretation of sex roles by significant others in conjunction with the psychological experiences necessary for revising existing concepts of self.

There are also suggestions in the current research that indirect teaching styles may encourage the pupil's extension of self and motivate pupil performance by expanding the role of the pupil in the classroom dialogue. Pupils with consistently high levels of anxiety, which we interpret as indicating a negative Sense of Self-Extension, demonstrate reduced levels of anxiety under an indirect teaching style. There is also evidence that some pupils prefer a more direct teaching style. Pupils who find relief from anxiety when their role in the behavioral dialogue is expanded to include their participation in goal-setting, decision-making, and evaluating,as well as assuming responsibility for their own productive behaviors, may be responding to their increased understanding of the processes and their insights into the values and standards operating in evaluating and judging their performances and products. The expansion of their role in the behavioral dialogue may help them view evaluation and criticism of their products and performance and the setting of goals not as an arbitrary wielding of the power of the teacher's office, but as a means of acquiring mastery and positive impact. On the other hand, pupils who prefer the more highly teacher-structured and controlled environment may find more psychological safety in a narrower definition of the pupil role where the means of acquiring approval are clearly delineated by the source of approval. Teachers who are able to respond to individual pupil needs for psychological safety may be seen by their pupils as warm and supportive rather than as either direct or indirect teachers.

The teacher's perception of pupils as individuals and their respect for the individuality of pupils also appears to have a positive effect on the Performing Selves of pupils. Teachers who consider the pupil's value system and its ties to the socioeconomic and ethnic background of each pupil will be able to offer incentives for achievement appropriate for the pupil. Teachers who demonstrate their respect for pupil performance by providing relevant and constructive feedback to the pupil also provide a positive and safe environment for further self-extension and increased goal-directed behaviors. Teachers who help pupils acquire the cognitive skills necessary for successful decision-making and goal-setting help pupils gain a positive perception of their Performing Selves.

Although much more research is needed to provide an understanding of the role of teacher behavior in fostering pupil creativity, the present research suggests that teachers who can provide a democratic classroom environment and encourage divergent thinking in their pupils, and who can also function as a knowledgeable resource person in the classroom will encourage creativity in their pupils.

Perhaps most importantly, the suggestion that teachers most often reflect the Performing Selves of pupils in their academic roles and not in their social roles should not be interpreted to mean that teachers do not affect the pupil's perception of himself and of other pupils in their social roles. Although classrooms are organized around the achievement of academic tasks, the classroom situation is also the social situation of the pupil ,and the research suggests that the pupil's social standing with his peers is related to his academic performance. Pupils may have an academic standing without a social standing among their peers, but they rarely have a social standing unrelated to their academic standing. Teachers who can help pupils acquire academic behaviors and skills and a positive perception of their Performing Selves and who can also provide the environmental safety and opportunity for the extension of self into social performance can reasonably assume that they have had a positive affect on the pupil's concept of self.

Chapter VII References

Introduction

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Motivation

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CHAPTER VIII

Self-Image

Teacher Behaviors and Pupil Self-Perception, Self-Knowledge, Confidence, Expectations, Ideals, Control, Values, Ethics, and Social Competence

The psychological construct of the Self-Image could best be described as the answer to the question "Who does he think he is?" This subjective concept of the self is the summation of all other self-concepts integrated into a global image which could be described as the self-perceived traits, characteristics, or personality of an individual. It represents what an individual thinks he is and what he thinks others think he is. It is his perception of what he ought to be and what others think he ought to be, and it represents what he thinks he would like to be in the future. The Self-Image encompasses all that the developing self knows and believes about himself, a summation at any given time of all the concepts of self--the Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, and Self-Extension,which have been derived and organized from the psychological experiences of the behavioral dialogue. As beliefs about the self and perceptions of the self change, the Self-Image also changes. This experientially formed construct of the self contains the perceptual distortions originating with the environment, the significant others, and the developing self. It reflects as well the limitations imposed upon the formative process by the physical and physiological environment of the developing self and the nature and extent of his psychological experiences. It is from this highly individualistic perspective that the developing self approaches and copes with his problems and relationships, organizes and plans his behaviors, both present and future, and formulates an ideal self incorporating all the standards and values toward which he strives.

The Self-Image can be described as the coordinator of the concepts of self and the orchestrater of all behaviors, a sense of the self as an integrated and functioning self-entity with a past, present, and future image. One primary function of the Self-Image is to arrange and direct all behavioral performances so that they feature the strongest and most self-concept-sustaining attributes of the psychological self and achieve the maximum impact. As a result of this constant orchestration, most performances become characterized by one or more repeated behavior patterns. Early and repeated success with one set of behaviors tends to entrench the format and limit the development of alternative coping styles. Broader problem experiences in an atmosphere supporting experimentation lead to more alternatives and more flexibility in coping and problem-solving behaviors. But it is the repeated patterns of behavior that provide cues to particular aspects of the operating Self-Image of the developing self. From observing the approach to problems, the processes of decision making, and the solutions devised, inferences can be made as to the levels of self-knowledge, self-confidence, and self-control attained by the developing self in a given situation.

These same behaviors also give insights into the values and standards employed by the self when assessing problems and making decisions. It is not the success or effectiveness of the coping style, but the style of coping itself that offers the best clues to the Self-Image. In some instances, ineffectual coping styles that are used persistently can offer even clearer and more interpretable evidence of the operating Self-Image. The attributes perceived by the self to be most successful are those which are used persistently and are often inappropriately projected into each performance. In attempts to repeat previous successes, problems and relationships must often be redefined and interpreted in order to accommodate an inflexible coping style. Analyzing the redefinitions and interpretations made by the developing self can offer an additional source of insight into the Self-Image of another person.

It is not possible, however, to analyze, interpret, or describe the Self-Image of another without assuming a culturally biased philosophical stance. The most commonly used global descriptors of the Self-Image are terms such as "positive," "negative," "realistic," or "unrealistic." A "positive" or "negative" self-image is one which, in the view of the observer, reflects the presence or absence of culturally acceptable attitudes and beliefs about the "self" and "others." A "realistic" or "unrealistic" self-image is determined through the application of cultural standards to the responses and performances of another individual. By the application of these cultural standards it is possible for the Self-Image to be positive and realistic, positive and unrealistic, or negative with both states of realism. Theoretically, in order for the developing self to acquire a positive attitude toward the self and others, the experiences within the behavioral dialogue must be characterized by acceptance and a positive reflection of the Self. In order to acquire a realistic construct of the self and therefore a realistic Self-Image, the developing self must receive accurate and adequate feedback from his significant others and the environment, which will provide the cognitive material for the processes of association and differentiation to develop constructs of successful and unsuccessful goal-directed behaviors.

A realistic Self-Image also requires adequate cultural definition and the modeling of approved roles as well as the acquisition of cultural standards and values. Researchers and constructed instruments that ignore the cultural foundations of all psychological experiences and the cultural influences upon the formation of all self-concepts cannot successfully interpret or measure self-image dimensions in any target population. Such instruments and researchers produce data that identify differences related to cultural values and psychological experiences more efficiently than they measure "positive" or "realistic" dimensions of self-concepts.

The middle-class child who must acquire more complex "how to" prescribed behaviors as well as more complex verbal constructs and behaviors than his counterpart in a lower socioeconomic class realistically reflects these cultural differences in his responses.

This is especially true of test items that reference the subject's dependence upon others and attempt to measure the extent of his competencies and independence which should be understood in reference to the standards of his culture. When high scores of independence and competence are equated with a "positive" self-image, the middle-class child may appear to have a less "positive" self-image than his lower-class counterpart, who, by his cultural standards may have achieved a good deal of competence and independence. However, when test items reference more complex verbal behaviors, the "positive" self-image of the middle-class child may prosper in comparison to that of the lower-class subject. The Self-Image is derived from the cultural milieu and the psychological experiences that take place within it. Where self-image test items reference the same psychological experiences and the same values and standards, a comparison of item or factor scores produces differences that can accurately be described in "positive" or "negative" terms in accordance with the identified cultural perspective of the interpreter. Constructs and events that are outside the experience and therefore, cognizance, of the individual can hardly affect the Self-Image, but research subjects will often supply idiosyncratic working definitions when self-irrelevant items are encountered in an effort to be socially responsive to the researcher's request for their cooperation. An awareness of the cultural milieu of the test population and instruments that allow for less subjective, high inference interpretation would help unscramble some of the conflicting and confusing results of research on the Self-Image which arise from this discrepancy between individual item interpretation and the theoretical intent of the item. The probability that a middle-class child will ever be placed in an environmental milieu where values, standards, constructs and behaviors are totally discontinuous with those he has experienced and acquired is very low, but the probability that a lower-class child will have this experience is much higher. Differences in cultural systems are not cognitively assessed by the developing self, they are psychologically experienced when they occur, and as psychological experiences, such confrontations have the potential for altering the self-image of the individual, positively or negatively. They can alter how the developing self sees himself, how he thinks others see him, and how he would like to be seen.

What is seen and known about the self-image of another individual is usually gained by assessing and interpreting his performance and his products. These two sources are used to infer that the Self-Image has particular characteristics and traits. This process of examination is at once two steps removed from the real and operating self-image of another, first by the intrusion of the observer's subjectivity through which certain observed traits and characteristics are amplified, diminished, or filtered out, and second by the observer's objectivity, which may allow him to see the performance and the product but not the other individual's perception and interpretation of his performance or product. In assessing performances and products, the observer may come to know something that is unknown to the performer. But what is known to others cannot become a part of the Self-Image until it is known to the self, and making something known to the self is not simply a matter of hearing the information, it must also be accepted and valued.

The most comprehensive and accurate view of another's operating self-image could perhaps be gained through lengthy observation and close association with the subject under a great variety of circumstances. Concern for such extensive knowledge of one individual's self-image, however, is generally reserved for intense relationships or a professional concern for proper diagnosis and therapeutic treatment. We are generally more concerned about learning what role the Self-Image plays in specific relationships and under specific circumstances. To acquire this information for everyday usage in personal relationships or for research purposes, the verbal behaviors of subjects are most often utilized as the most reliable means of acquiring a limited view of the Self-Image. To aid research, self-report instruments purporting to tap attitude and belief systems and projective instruments that elicit responses to be professionally interpreted have been developed to organize the verbal means of gaining access to the Self-Image. Without the use of several confirming sources of data, however, it is difficult to tell whether a subject is reporting his actual beliefs and attitudes, or if he is reporting what he thinks his beliefs and attitudes should be. Both of these response sets are related to the Self-Image, but it would be most helpful if they were not used interchangeably by subjects and confused in data collection and interpretation.

In an experimental situation, pre-test measures of self-image taken to establish a bench mark could well produce the social "ought to think or be" response from both control and experimental subjects. If the experimental group is then given treatment that encourages and approves the free expression of real feelings and perceptions, the subsequent comparison of the two groups on posttest measures might well indicate a "loss" of positive self-image for the experimental group, but the differences might be the result of more honest, self-referrant, self-reporting. The appearance of loss in self-esteem would be even more likely if the treatment period was long enough to produce the security for more honest self-reporting, but too short to allow subjects to work through and resolve their exposed feelings. In the same period of time, the control group may have acquired an increased awareness of the valued social responses. On the other hand, increased awareness of valued responses and the acquisition or increased familiarity with special vocabulary can also create another hazard for interpreting the effect of programs, particularly those programs having affective objectives where everyone must understand the terminology and express himself accordingly. In this instance, self-reporting may change for the better among the experimental group with or without the benefits of real self-improvement.

The difficulty in measuring changes in the Self-Image is particularly frustrating when, at least theoretically and empirically, there are so many opportunities for change in our common daily experiences. The potential for positive or negative changes in the Self-Image is always present in the face of different experiences that incorporate different values and standards.

How the child wishes to be seen represents the operating value system of the Self-Image incorporating ideals for the Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, and the Extension of Self into an internalized model of the Ideal Self. The Ideal Self may be realistic or unrealistic when objective standards are used to estimate the potential for achieving the ideal. The Ideal Self can be seen in the Performing Self when the individual wishes to be "seen as" a person possessing certain prized characteristics and attributes. Wishing to be "seen as" requires an audience and like any staged performance, requires behavioral exaggeration to be sure the audience doesn't miss the point. Wishing to be "like" a model who is the Ideal Self (quite often of the moment) can also be seen in the Performing Self and the attempts to assume the identity of the model by imitating and affecting behavioral mannerisms. Another form of the Ideal Self is represented by the wish "to be," which is generally followed by a cultural role or vocational choice in which the stereotyped characteristics encapsulate the values and standards being expressed. The wish "to be" a doctor, lawyer, teacher, mother, involves not only the performing self, but the planning and coping self as well, if the goal is to be realized.

In some instances, the Ideal Self may arise from perceived inadequacies of the self (reflected in the desire to be "seen as" having certain qualities) and the striving of the individual toward the Ideal Self may be a compensatory behavior that exacts a high toll in energy. It may also force a narrow focus on one aspect of self construct development, to the detriment of other developing concepts of self. In other instances, the desire to be "seen as" represents an acknowledgement of the social standards and values present in the environmental milieu.

The role of significant others is to supply the developing self with valid information that facilitates the formation of adequate and accurate concepts of the self. When such concepts of the self are combined to form the Self-Image, the system of self-referent concepts will provide a basis for realistic and positive attitudes toward the self and others.

Teacher Behaviors and Self-Image Change in Pupils

On the premise that self-concepts are learned structures derived from the comments of others and the experiences encountered in the environment, Staines (1958) formed two hypotheses relating the role of the teacher to the self-images acquired by pupils. The first hypothesis stated that it would be possible to distinguish between teachers by each teacher's use of pupil self-referencing comments, and the nature and frequency of the comments. The second hypothesis stated that it would be possible to teach toward achieving both academic goals and goals of desired change in pupil self-image. To test the first hypothesis, the commenting behavior of two pairs of teachers, one pair at the junior level and the other at the primary level, were observed and recorded according to their positive, negative, neutral, and ambiguous effect on the Known Self, Other Self, and Ideal Self of pupils. The type of effect for specific verbal behaviors was determined by the judgments of three professional judges. The comment categories found to be most effective in differentiating between individual teachers and between the two groups were: comments on pupil performance, status, values, wants, and comments on classroom management across all teachers and groups. The additional categories of pupil physique, traits, and self-orientation operated additionally as differentiators between primary teachers. Units of each teacher's commenting behavior were analyzed and the content of the comments were related to core dimensions of self-image concepts designated as: salience (a measure of self-consciousness); differentiation (a measure of the degree to which self-concepts have been developed and defined by the self); potency (a measure of self-adequacies); integrity (a measure of self-predictability); insight (a measure of the relationship of self-concepts to reality); and self-acceptance and rejection (measures of the congruency between the perceived self and the ideal self). Profiles constructed from the scores on these dimensions produced widely differing descriptions of teacher styles and suggested that teachers differ in their affect on pupil self-image. To test the second hypothesis, the junior level teachers and their pupils were continued into the next experimental phase. Teacher A of this pair was considered by the experimenter to have an attitude toward pupils and a teaching style that contributed toward positive self-image development in pupils. Using the results of the teacher's own ratings of each pupil and the results of self-rating by each pupil on the three self-concept categories, the teacher set individual self-image improvement goals for each pupil and planned methods of academic instruction to incorporate the necessary events for these goals. Goals for the other self included letting pupils see themselves as planning, purposeful, discriminating individuals with responsibilities for self-monitoring and self-evaluating on task achievement. Feedback from the teacher avoided the use of whole comments such as "good" or "wrong" and aided the pupils' differentiation processes by giving more detailed observations and judgments on pupil performance. The Ideal Self goal was to encourage pupils to acquire realistic and suitable levels of aspiration, and the "Known" self goal was to encourage pupils toward self-acceptance through their successes and through the teacher's appreciation of each pupil and careful attendance to each pupil's status needs. Teacher B and his class were used as controls. Each class was approximate in size (29 pupils in group A, 31 pupils in group B, with group members almost equally divided between the sexes) and matched for age, IQ, and socio-economic status. The experimental teaching period lasted 12 weeks. The results of the posttesting indicated highly significant differences between the experimental and control groups on measures of differentiation and certainty. The measure of differentiation represented the ability to assess the self in more relative and less absolute terms, moving toward a middle range away from extreme judgments. The measure of certainty indicated a move toward more self-knowledge, altering the pretest scoring from "not sure" toward more certainty about the "boundaries" of the self. The experimenter interpreted these results as indicating a gain in psychological security for the experimental pupils. Chadwick (1967) made a similar study with three classes of 12- to 13-year-old girls from working class homes and with teachers who had been trained to use positive commenting behavior. He found some significant differences between the control and experimental groups on these same two dimensions of certainty and differentiation. Chadwick commented that differentiation also appeared to be curvilinearly related to pupil cognitive ability. From this study the investigation also found that the affective areas of greatest importance to the pupil subjects were those of acceptance, values, and physical appearance. In both the Staines and Chadwick studies, the differences between experimental and control groups inferred from the psychological measures did not extend to differences in academic performance measured by academic gains.

Griggs and Bonney (1970) reported the results of teaching the dynamics of behavior to fourth- and fifth-grade pupils in two southwestern, suburban communities. Pupils of these two communities were randomly assigned to control of experimental groups with combined totals of 232 experimental subjects and 210 controls. Sociometric measures and a measure of perceived self-ideal self were used to test the hypotheses that pupils taught causes for behavior would be more accepting of each other, and that they would develop a greater congruency between perceived self and self-ideal. Pretests were given to all subjects at the start of the investigation and posttests were given after four months of experimental treatment. The program curriculum materials consisted of a six-volume set of paperback booklets used in conjunction with discussion, role-play, and story completion techniques. The results of final testing indicated that pupils in the experimental groups had made significant gains on "friendship" measures, while the control group had made small, but insignificant, gains on this same dimension. Differences between control and experimental groups reached significance for the experimental group in only one of the two sample communities, although the increase in scores was in the correct direction for the other experimental group. The authors suggested that the increase in congruency would probably have reached significance for the second experimental group if the program had continued for a longer period of time.

Lister and Ohlsen (1962) gave test interpretations to students in grades five, seven, nine, and eleven and reported that this treatment appeared to improve pupil self-understanding and increase the congruency between their self-estimates and test-estimates. In an article reflecting on this study, Ohlsen (1965) offered six suggestions to teachers for giving feedback to pupils: (1) Let pupils know that you know something about them and that you desire to understand them better. Acquaint pupils with the resources the school has to help them understand themselves, their peers, and their environment; (2) Inform pupils of sources of information and give them an opportunity to react to what they learn; (3) Use only resources which you are qualified to use; (4) Have more respect for the self-perception of pupils and encourage them to assess themselves by helping them to identify and work through problems of self-understanding and feelings; (5) Be sensitive to cues that a pupil does not understand your feedback, or that the pupil is refusing to accept the feedback; and (6) Watch your own subjectivity and try not to let it influence your interpretation of objective data.

The results of all these studies appear to be fairly forthright and indicate that teachers are in a position to help pupils improve their self-image by attending to self-concept needs in the everyday classroom procedures or by implementing supplemental curriculum materials which increase self-awareness.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Self-Confidence

The term "self-confidence," like the term "anxiety," can be used to describe a generalized behavioral trait or a psychological state referenced to a specific relationship or performance of an individual. Confidence in the self is based upon valuing the self, and although the source of self-valuing can be in any one or more of the psychological self-constructs, self-confidence is observable to others only through the behavior of the Performing Self. As a part of the Self-Image, however, self-confidence is a product of self-perception and not the product of objective observation. Self-confidence will only develop when relationships and performances are perceived by the self and accepted, valued, and considered successful.

All of the psychological self-constructs can become, in the processes of formation and reformation, the sources of self-confidence. The Bodily Self can provide self-confidence through valuing of physiological attributes, the mental processes, talents, aptitudes, physical appearance, sex, race, or any other physiologically based abilities that are perceived by the self as valuable. Other self-concepts can become sources of self-confidence through family and group identity and affiliation, by ascribed or acquired esteem and status, and from the competency and positive impact of the Performing Self. The confidence placed in any one of these self-concepts can be inferred from the characteristic coping style of the Performing Self and from other behavioral dimensions related to self-valuing, such as indications of interpersonal trust or mistrust, risk taking or safety seeking, participation or withdrawal, and independence or dependence.

As a behavioral dimension, self-confidence is usually represented on a bi-polar continuum that extends from an apparent absence of self-confidence to an unrealistic or exaggerated presence of confidence in the self. But where self-confidence is used as a variable, care and caution must be exercised in collecting and interpreting the data. Data for ascertaining self-confidence are subject to all the obfuscations of other self-represented and reported data and the interpretation is subject to all the confounds that plague our attempts to objectively measure the products of self-perception. To obtain such measures we must either rely on the self-reporting of the subject, or we can attempt to interpret the discrepancy between the subject's potential and performance. In either case, we are left the difficult task of interpretation and the biases of our own subjectivity. Interpretation requires judgments, and judgments require criteria, and as Miller (1970) and Bronfenbrenner (1970) have pointed out in their critiques of an impressive research study reported by Siegelman, Block, Block, and von der Lippe (1970), experimenters can be blind to cultural, epochal, and methodological biases that reduce the assumed generalizability of their findings. In the study as reported by Siegelman et al., the data were analyzed for the antecedents mutual to the parental practices in the homes of subjects who were judged to have "optimal psychological adjustment in adulthood." The antecedents determined from this study indicated that the successfully adjusted subjects came from healthy, democratic, value-oriented homes with cognitively competent and integrated mothers and non-neurotic mothers or fathers. The criterion for "optimal adjustment" had been established by an absolute ideal derived from the consensus of professional judges, and the data were generated by the ratings of professionals on items selected by professionals. The value structure behind the criterion emerges as one biased in favor of the middle class and, in Miller's opinion, even more precisely in favor of the bureaucratic members of the middle-class social system. Miller concluded his critique of the Siegelman et al., study with a caution against defining the individual by an absolute ideal unrelated to the individual's sex, generation, epoch, and culture, and Bronfenbrenner cautioned against equating clinical judgments with objective reality. In our opinion, both of these authors have made highly relevant critical contributions that should be heeded by all researchers investigating self-concept development and particularly in research examining the influence of teacher behavior and school environments on the development of individual pupils or groups of pupils. When Baumrind (1972) compared the effects of Pattern VIII, Authoritarian-Rejecting, black parents with those of white parents in the same classification, her major conclusion was that, while black parents were considered authoritarian by white norms, unlike their white counterparts, they produced girls who were the most self-assertive and independent in the study. It was suggested by the author that the "authoritarian syndrome" produced diverse effects in white and black girls because black girls perceived the parental behavior not as rejecting, but as nurturant and care-taking. The author comments further, however, that while these black girls could be considered competent by virtue of their independence, they were not necessarily competent by measures of social responsibility since they were both "domineering" with peers and "resistive" with adults. The mother models of these black girls were described in their own social milieu as having an "equalitarian relationship" with the fathers and an active role in decision making, factors which the author considered as comprising crucial differences between the white authoritarian family and the black authoritarian home. The question as to whether these black girls would be socially responsible in their own social milieu is unanswered, but the investigator's interpretation of the behavior of these preschool black girls, which could be described as reflecting a measure of self-confidence, emphasizes the role of culturally biased value judgments in altering the nature of psychological experiences from one cultural setting to another and the subsequent influence such alterations may have upon the self-concept development of those individuals caught between two value systems.

Payne and Dunn (1970) examined the effect of a group guidance program upon the self-concepts of three cultural groups, Whites, Blacks, and Mexican-Americans. The subjects for this study were randomly selected from the fourth- and fifth-grade population of a large consolidated school in the Southwest. Experimental subjects were divided into three subgroups of approximately 10 pupils each and were given 18 sessions of group guidance activities under an assigned school counselor for 50 minutes a week. In all, 45 pupils took part in this study, with 6 white, 3 black and 6 Mexican-American subjects assigned to the control group. A self-concept instrument requiring respondents to characterize themselves on 14 bipolar dimensions with 4 specific referents of the child as perceived by himself, as he thinks he is perceived by his mother, as he thinks he is perceived by his teacher, and as he thinks he is perceived by his peers was administered to all subjects for comparison of pre- and posttest scores. From these four referent categories, two additional scores were obtained. A score for Self as Subject was obtained from the single referent of self as perceived by self, and a score of Self as Object was derived from the summed scores of the other three referent categories. Differences between control and experimental subjects on the pretest are rather ambiguously described, making it unclear whether the differences reported are those between control and experimental groups, or within groups and between racial groups. The results of pre- and posttesting are reported as the mean differences and the sum of the square differences for each racial group. The results indicated that the Self as Subject scores of the White and Mexican-American experimental groups improved in the posttest, but there was no difference between the pre- and posttest scores of the experimental black group. Mexican-Americans in the experimental group showed favorable changes in posttest scores on the Self, Mother, and Teacher categories, but posttest means were lower on the referent "Peer." Mexican-American control subjects showed improvement in posttest means on all referents except the category "Mother." Why were the Mexican-American experimental subjects able to describe themselves more favorably on posttest referents to Self, Teacher, and Mother, but not to Peer? One possibility is that on the pretest measures the Peers in reference were those of their own ethnic group and on posttest measures the referent group may have been the peers assembled in their sessions which included members of the white and black groups. Another possibility is that they may have been able to reinterpret their relationships and perceptions in accordance with the value system expressed in the treatment sessions and the terminology learned in session discussions when dealing with the referents "Self," "Teacher," and "Mother," but their position with their own ethnic peers may have been realistically altered by their membership in the experimental group. The black experimental subjects showed favorable changes in all but the Self category, where no change from pre- to posttest is indicated. The black control subjects showed favorable change in each category and excelled over the experimental group on mean differences from pre- to posttest in every category but that of "Mother." The investigators interpret the high mean scores of these control subjects as "defensive" reporting on the "Teacher" and "Peer" referents, adding the comment that all other responses given were typical of those responses made by the remainder of the population. The experimental white subjects indicated favorable change in all categories. The white control subjects exception of the category "Peers," which we have already discussed. The question that occurs to us is one that refers to a possible language difficulty. Since this study took place in an area of our country where Mexican-American pupils retain strong language and cultural ties with their Mexican heritage, the possibility exists that the instrument used to measure self-concept may not have the same validity or reliability when used with a bilingual population as it has with monolingual populations. If we consider again the interpretation of the investigators that the black control subjects were giving "defensive" responses to test items, the possibility exists that all Mexican-American subjects, and particularly those who were given an accentuated encounter with the dominant culture, may have resorted to more positive self-reporting. If, in the course of the guidance session, these subjects were able to perceive that the dominant culture valued positive self-perception and expected mothers and teachers to take positive and accepting attitudes toward children, these acquired responses might be obligingly returned to their purveyors. But the peer group experience might well have been one that denied the verbal expression of mutual acceptance and valuing and the perception of the group experience may have been more realistically reported. Without a detailed description of the contents of the guidance program, we can only speculate that the program might have been focused upon the Mexican-American pupils in the experimental groups and resulted in the exceptional gains for these subjects without extending its effects to the other members. If this were indeed the case, and some observational data were also collected, then we might find support for the hypothesis that enhancing the perceived value of the self by enhancing the perceived valuing of the self by others favorably alters the self-concept as evidenced by increased self-confidence in interpersonal relationships and task performance.

Another study offering both similarities and contrasts to the study cited above was reported by Landry, Schilson and Pardew (1974). The sample population for this study consisted of 34 experimental and 18 control subjects, 4 years of age, enrolled in a preschool program situated at a military installation in the Northwest. All subjects were children of military personnel and represented a diverse ethnic group membership, but all subjects could be classified socioeconomically as members of the middle-class. The experimental subjects were randomly selected from this population for treatment. The treatment consisted of a program focused on the enhancement of the physical self, intellectual self, the emotional self, and the social self through guided activities in 33 sessions covering an 11-week period. Participants were given individually administered tests of self-concept referenced to the four categories of Self as perceived by self, as the child thinks he is perceived by the mother, by the teacher, and by his peers, and to 14 value dimensions of social experiences appropriate for this age group. In addition, teachers rated each pupil, creating a profile referenced to 6 specific dimensions: (1) awareness of self, (2) self-confidence indicated by response to new and challenging situations,

(3) interpersonal comprehension measured by the child's understanding of his impact on others, (4) sensitivity to others, (5) coping ability, and (6) tolerance, indicated by the child's ability to accept individual differences. The results compared gains from pre- to posttest scores for experimental and control subjects, and the authors indicated that the experimental subjects showed significant gains on self-concept scales of sociability, less fear of things, sharing, a concept of self-as-subject, and total self-concept. Changes from pre- to posttest scores for each group indicated that the control group had changed significantly only on the teacher-rated dimension of awareness of self. The experimental group had made significant changes on 11 of the self-concept and values scales and on 3 of the teacher-rated dimensions: awareness of self, self-confidence, and sensitivity to others. The authors concluded that the gains for the experimental group were attributable to the guidance program and reported their subjective observation that the children in the experimental program had shown increasing and deepening responses and expressions of feelings, more commitment to each other, and an improvement in listening skills through the rules invoked for discussions. The children had also appeared to develop an understanding of cause and effect relationships. These are the observations of the experimenters, but while the teacher ratings indicated gains for the experimental subjects on their pre- to posttest ratings, teachers did not appear

to find significant differences in the behaviors of the control and experimental groups. Do the children actually evidence less fear of things and people as a result of the guidance program or do they learn that things and people should not be feared, and report this acquired value? Do they learn to share or do they learn that sharing is approved by adults? Are they able to report more perceptively about each others' feelings or do they learn that they should be considerate of others'feelings? Several of the variables included in this study would lend themselves to more objective measurement and would permit more of the data to be generated from "objective reality" rather than derived from clinical or professional judgment.

Bishop and Beckman (1971) reported a study far more limited in purpose and found that the age of subjects and the ambiguity of assigned tasks contributed to the degree of conforming and confident behavior exhibited by children. Subjects, both male and female from the lower middle-class and including four ethnic groups, in grades 2 through 6 were tested in experimental situations where they were subjected to peer group pressure to conform in their estimates of the length of a line segment. With regard to the effects on self-image, the authors also hypothesized that confidence in one's own judgment is affected by variation in task ambiguity. In this study, the confidence of the individual subject in his ability to estimate the length of a line did increase with grade level and experience. If conforming behavior were motivated by the need for social approval, the behavior would not vary with the ambiguity of the task, but would remain consistent with the need to conform for approval. This would indicate that tests of self-confidence may be more objectively interpretable if they are based on the observed level of performance which has been achieved without applied social pressure. Measures of performance under these conditions should then be followed by measurement of performance on the same or similar tasks attempted under applied social pressure in order to identify differences in confidence and conformity.

Efforts to help children acquire self-confidence within the classroom situation appear to be successful, at least at the self-reporting level. There is a serious question, however, whether the values and self-concepts selected for test items actually tap the values and self-concepts of the target populations. Theoretically, if we could first assess where and how a child desires to achieve, measure a level of self-confidence from the subject's estimate of his ability and performance, provide the information and the experiences directed toward the subject's goals, and repeat the self-evaluation measure, theoretically, we might successfully alter self-concepts by enhancing self-confidence. The Performing Self is the self-construct most often observed by teachers in the classroom. But the Performing Self is the product of subjective evaluation by the self and the concerns of the self are better indices of the operating values than objectively ascertained "needs" of the individual. Teachers who address the needs of their pupils without regard for pupil concerns are addressing their own concerns, and may, with their pupils' help, enhance their own self-confidence. To build self-confidence in pupils, the teacher must help children succeed where they are concerned with succeeding and offer the psychological experiences to their pupils that have both the affect and the information for improving their self-image through increased self-confidence.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Behavior Modification

Pupils who "emit" disruptive behaviors, who seemingly will not and do not direct their behaviors toward performing the tasks and achieving the goals of the educational system, and teachers who cannot successfully cope with pupils' disruptive or unproductive behavior have, to date, been the major subjects for research on behavior modification in the classroom. A program of behavior modification is designed to change specific behaviors of the Performing Self. The focus of such programs is directed toward the manifestation of the behavior rather than the purpose or reason for the behavior. To change a target behavior, the response or reflection of the behavior is changed when and where the behavior occurs. In some designs for behavior modification an aversive or punishing response is made in order to extinguish or decrease the incidence of the target behavior. In other programs a desired behavior is positively reflected and rewarded in order to increase its incidence and,when appropriate, the reward of desired behavior is combined with an ignoring or neutral response to an undesired behavior to promote a change to the desired behavior. The cognitive process is predominantly one of association, wherein undesired behaviors are associated with noxious or ineffective consequences and desired behaviors are associated with reward and effective consequences. The initial locus of control in a program for behavior modification is external. The external control performs the functions of the significant other monitoring the behavior and administering the reward or punishment. A designed program of behavior modification, however, offers a restructured behavioral dialogue in which the performance of the significant other or modifying agent provides an objectively determined constancy and consistency with a clear and unambiguous interpretation of the target behavior communicated by the system of rewarding or unrewarding responses. The value system of the client must be related to the reward system invoked as an incentive for behavioral change, an incentive that is normally provided in the natural behavioral dialogue by the developing self's value of the significant other and the rewards of approval or positive self-impact on the environment. As an incentive, the reward system must retain its value for the client until a new or revised goal-directed behavioral schema has been adopted and the previous self-concept has been altered. If the reward system does not remain valued or if it is withdrawn before the client acquires a value for the behavior itself, the target behavior may only briefly be modified or temporarily adopted.

A dependency relationship between the client and the reward dispenser replicates the dependency relationship that exists between the developing self and the significant others. The responsibility of the reward or punishment dispenser, like that of the significant other, is to help the client move toward self-monitoring and self-rewarding through the acquisition of internalized standards of behavior and performance. A dependency, either upon the reward dispenser or the external reward system, though initially desirable, can become the source of unrealistic expectations of others and the self.

Behavior modification programs are focused on the manifestations of the target behavior and not on discovering the psychological origins of the behavior. However, the program must alter the subject's previous constructs of the behavior and his perception of its impact before the behavior can be eliminated from, or integrated into, the developing self's behavioral schema.

Though several elements of planned behavior modification programs can be recognized as common training behaviors, the application of these behaviors in a controlled and systematic manner requires committed time and specifically trained skills. In the research studies reported here, the teachers involved have participated in the behavior modification programs under the supervison or direction of trained professional people or have themselves been trained to apply the necessary skills.

Scott, Burton, and Yarrow (1967) reported the application of a behavior modification program in the natural setting of a preschool situation. The purpose of the program was to change the nature of the interacting behaviors of a four-year-old boy who was aggressive and antisocial. The investigators' analysis of the problem situation indicated that the child's unacceptable behavior received more consistent attention from his teacher and peers than his acceptable behaviors. Using a program of positive reinforcement from an adult for acceptable behavior, the child's acceptable behaviors increased while the undesirable behaviors decreased. When the pre-existing condition was briefly re-established, the child again increased his unacceptable behavior. The child's behavior was recorded by two observers throughout the project. Additional data was gathered by the investigators with regard to the behavior of the subject's peers to determine the influence contributed toward the process of modification by their uncontrolled reinforcement of the subject's behavior. There was no evidence from the data to indicate that the modification of the subject's behavior was due to peer reinforcement, but a pattern of peer responses paralleled the experimental treatment conditions. Of the four treatment periods, periods two and four were used for positive reinforcement, and during period three, the pre-existing conditions were reestablished. During the third period, when teachers had resumed their regular responsibility for the subject's classroom behavior, the peers of the subject had continued to respond positively to the subject's positive acts. The boys had initiated more interaction with the subject and had received stronger positive responses from the subject in the third period than had been recorded for the other three treatment periods. The investigators concluded that the increased postive interaction and reinforcement from his male peers accounted for the continuing rise in the positive acts of the subject during period three when positive reinforcement from the adult experimenter had been withdrawn. It was further noted that during the third period the girls had responded to the subject's negative behaviors with increased intensity, squealing, crying, and fighting back. The authors suggested that this may have accounted for the increase in the subject's negative behaviors recorded for period three along with the increased positive behaviors. Other sex differences in peer responses suggested that the boys were increasingly discriminating in their responses to the subject's behavior. As the treatment periods progressed the boys decreased their positive responses to the subject's negative behavior and increased their positive responses to positive behavior.

The observations made by the investigators in discussing the reported experiment offer interesting possibilities for future behavior modification studies in natural settings. Conditions which do not affect the principles of operant conditioning in the laboratory situation become important in the natural situation, and particularly if the program is to be continued over an extended period of time. Within the natural setting and over an extended period of time, the use of a single reinforcer may not always be effective or appropriate. In addition, the agent must be alert to the many sources and combinations of reinforcers present in the natural situation over which he cannot extend control. The authors suggested that identifying these sources and possible combinations prior to instituting the program of reinforcement could increase the degree of control possible. It was also noted that in this particular study the increased peer interaction exposed the subject's lack of social skills and the investigators suggested that there could be a potential danger in concentrating upon one aspect of a child's behavior without offering him help in learning more adequate and needed skills. In the natural setting, behaviors modified under programmed reinforcement may not persist if continued reinforcement is not found after the program is discontinued. Modification of an interacting social behavior depends not only on modifying the target behavior, but on changing the pre-set responses of others toward the subject's behavior.

An eleven-year-old boy was the subject of another successful behavior modification procedure reported by Coleman (1973). The investigator developed a procedure for establishing control of three target behaviors under natural classroom situations. The program was implemented without the assistance of trained observers or project funding and involved the participation of teachers and parents unsophisticated in their knowledge of behavior modification. The subject was a large, heavy, fifth-grade pupil whose behavior had been reported by all of his teachers as disruptive, aggressive, and unmanageable. He walked about and in and out of his classrooms at his pleasure, and when he was sent for retention in a punishing room, he walked out of that room with equal aplomb. Since the subject had the same teacher for both math and reading during the experimental period, and since the periods for these two courses remained constant throughout the experimental period, the situational analysis was done during these two classes and three target behaviors were identified for the behavior modification program. The desired behavior was identified as "working" and was defined in terms of task-achieving behaviors for both math and reading. The two undesirable target behaviors were identified as "talking aloud" under defined conditions and "out-of-seat," again defined by conditions. A teacher aide was trained as an observer-recorder and interrater reliability was established between the teacher aide and the experimenter in a pre-program observation period. After baseline behaviors were tabulated and the subject was introduced to the procedure, a schedule for reinforcement in which the subject was awarded points for positive behavior at stated intervals was instituted. The points gained were redeemable in prizes worth approximately 50¢ each. In the first phase of the program, the classroom teacher recorded the point gain on the blackboard on signal from the observer at the stated intervals. Later on in the program a scoring system requiring the observer to keep a total count and then report to the teacher was instituted after the teacher complained that she could not teach and watch the observer for signals. Bonus points were given if working behavior had been recorded for 7 intervals randomly selected from the 27 interval periods recorded daily. After a few sessions, the point value was set at 2¢ each, and an accounting of earned point value was sent home to the subject's parents each Friday. The subject had previously received an allowance of $1.25 a week and small amounts as needed on demand. The earned point value was substituted and the parents took the subject shopping on Friday nights, allowing him to spend what he wished of his reward. For four sessions, an attempt was made to see how well the subject could do without the point reward system; however, this period was cut short because the teacher was unsympathetic to the necessity of this procedure. The second phase of the treatment extended the reward intervals to the end of the daily session, when the observer turned in the accounting to be recorded by the teacher. During this period the subject transferred his attention to the observer,and in the third phase a new scoring system was introduced. Total points were initially given from which the teacher subtracted points for negative target behaviors so that the teacher could regain direct control which "had seemingly transferred to the observer" in condition 2. In the fourth and fifth conditions, reward intervals were extended and the value system changed to give one point for every minute of class time from which points were deducted for negative target behaviors. The final phase called for a report on the subject's behavior prepared by the teacher and sent to the parents at the end of the week, making the subject's allowance contingent upon the week's behavior. It was decided that a good week would be worth $7.50 and an average week $5.00. A poor week gained $1.25. The investigator reports that the average cost of the program in allowance paid was $6.37 a week--an indication that the subject maintained substantial improvement in his previous behavior. In the discussion of this program, the investigator commented that the weakness of the program was in the second phase, where the observer seemed to have usurped some control of the subject's behavior from the teacher. It was further reported that the intent of the final condition was to continue the fading strategy in order to return the subject to the pre-experimental intervention status, except that he would now be receiving a contingently earned allowance. There are other changes to be noted,however. It appears that the teacher must continue to send home weekly reports on the behavior of the subject and that the parents must continue to budget a fairly hefty allowance item for an eleven-year-old child. However, for many parents and teachers, the price of eternal vigilance and weekly reporting would be a small price to pay for freedom from class disrupting behavior and for altering behaviors that could jeopardize the future of a child.

As to the future of this particular child, we would like to raise a question about the associations and expectations inherent in this program and the role they will play in the child's future. Without additional program phases to revise the behavioral constructs and assist in the acquisition of internalized standards and values, the subject's perception of his Performing Self and his impact upon others and the environment will, in our opinion, remain distorted and unrealistic..

The control of other classroom behaviors through a fairly simple procedure was reported by Broden, Hall, and Mitts (1971), but the reported results are mixed. Two junior high subjects, a girl with poor study behavior and a boy with talking-out disruptive behavior, were selected as experimental subjects. The girl had expressed a wish to do better in her history course during sessions with her school counselor. When talking over the problem failed to produce improvement, the investigators were consulted and a self-recording system was instituted,using the counselor as a supervisory agent. Baseline data on the subject's study behavior were obtained by two independent observers without the subject being aware. The target behavior, "studying," was identified and defined and slips for recording studying behavior were given to the subject. The directions for recording were to record whenever the subject "thought of it" during her history class. The observers continued to record the subject's behavior and the attending behavior of the classroom teacher. The counselor accepted the subject's self-recording slips and praised her for the number of plus marks indicating studying behaviors. The program phases consisted of a baseline period, self-recording, self-recording with praise from teacher and counselor, praise only from the teacher, and a return to baseline conditions with a withdrawal of increased teacher attention. The results indicated that under self-recording and praise conditions, the subject's study behavior increased to 88% of class time and dropped to 77% under the praise-only condition, where it remained roughly stabilized for the remainder of the experimental periods. It was noted that teacher attention increased with the increase in performance by the subject. It was also observed that the subject's self-recording behavior decreased markedly from the first self-recording phase to the third and last, moving from an average of 12 marks per session to a low 2.3 marks per session.

In the second experiment, the subject's math teacher sought help to control the subject's disruptive talking-out behavior occurring in a class of low achievers. The regular class period occurred in two sessions, a 25-minute period before lunch and a 20-minute period after lunch. This time structure was used in the design of the modifying program. After the baseline observation period a self-recording program was instituted by the teacher. The subject was instructed to record every incidence of talking out without permission. The experimental design alternated the self-recording periods between the first session (A) and the second session (B) of the total class time, while observation and recording were continued for all sessions. The subject did reduce the incidence of his talking-out behaviors during self-recording periods, but maintained the negative behavior during the unrecorded sessions. The total recording record showed a decrease below the baseline rate, but increased above the baseline rates during the return to pre-intervention conditions. In the last phase of the experiment, the subject's talking-out behavior was recorded at a mean rate of 1.0 per minute for Session A (the baseline rate for this period was 1.1 incidents per minute) and 2.2 incidents per minute for Session B, compared to the baseline rate of 1.6 for this session. Unlike the procedures with the female student, there was no reinforcement by praise or additional attending from the teacher, from the counselors, or from the investigators.

It should be noted in comparing these two reports that the female subject had requested help, while the teacher of the second subject had made the request for help with talking-out behavior. We also note that the self-recording process was varied between the two studies in that the female subject was asked to record her positive target behavior, while the male subject was asked to record the negative target behavior. The observer's records indicated that, when the male subject was recording his negative behavior in alternate sessions, his recorded studying time increased, but when he was asked to record his negative behavior for both sessions the recorded studying time decreased. The investigator reported that in both of these experimental studies, there was no correlation between the self-recorded behavior incidence and the observer-recorded incidence for the target behaviors. The process of self-recording may have served two different functions for these subjects. In order to record, the female subject had to produce the positive target behavior, while the male subject, who may have perceived the fun of recording as his only reward, had to produce the negative behavior in order to participate in the project. The contrasts of these two studies offer insights into the possible sources of each program's success or failure.

Duncan (1969) reported the success of behavior modification procedures with 38 senior high school pupils, who, as members of a psychology class, were taught the principles of behavior modification using three simplified steps. The subjects cooperated with each other as agents for monitoring and applying the procedures. Subjects volunteered for a program of self-help with the purpose of eliminating undesirable target behaviors such as eating between meals, swearing, face touching, nail biting, knuckle cracking, and engaging in sarcastic comments with their peers. Pupils helped each other record baseline behavior and develop operational definitions of target behaviors. Locally available instruments were used for behavior "emission" counters such as tally sheets, wrist counters, golf-score or knitting stitch counters, all at very little expense. Since most subjects wanted to decelerate and extinguish target behaviors, consequences were devised employing such equipment as a joke shocker pack, boxing gloves and mittens, and surgical masks. Contingencies were set by the group for attending group meetings, e.g., 6 days of recorded data were required for admittance to the second meeting. Three groups were formed, two of which met with the investigator and one which met with a graduate student. The groups met once a week for two hours during the eight weeks of the project. During the meetings the subjects presented their projects. No formal lectures were given. Out of the 55 subjects entering the project, 33 turned in reports of successful behavior modification. A follow-up of randomly selected subjects indicated a generally sustained level of success, although one subject reported that he had returned to swearing, but only in the fraternity house.

In another reported project, a graduate student assisted a team of teachers in implementing a behavior modification procedure with first-grade pupils in the context of an open classroom situation (Wilson and Williams, 1973). The school was situated in a rural area close to a major southeastern city. Four first-grade teachers and their 100 pupils, who had been ability grouped during the first part of the year, were involved in the project. The teachers were seeking a program that would decrease disruptive behavior, increase academic productivity, and allow for differences in pupil ability. Each teacher was asked to designate her "worst" behavior problem so that the efficiency of the program could be evaluated. Four male students were designated and selected as target pupils for observation. The pupils were then divided into groups of 9 to 12 pupils each to form a unit for the morning language arts sessions. An ability-leveled task of copying a sentence daily from the board was selected for reinforcement procedures. Both pupil deportment and work-completing behaviors were to be improved by making free play time and activities contingent upon the group's performance. Work completion was defined with time and error limits and the group was rewarded with additional minutes of free time when no misbehaviors were recorded during the language arts session and misbehavior was punished by taking free time from the entire group, regardless of who misbehaved. The results indicated an increase in time-on-task behaviors and a reduction of disruptive behaviors. After the study ended, this team of teachers organized the entire morning activities around the group contingencies program and the following year they continued to make extensive use of group-contingent free time as a classroom management and task orienting technique.

Orme and Purnell (1968) reported the application of behavior modification to a classroom described as out-of-control. The subjects of this study were members of a combined third- and fourth-grade classroom in a large urban "ghetto" area. The 18 pupils ranged in age from 9 to 13 years. Of the 18 subjects, 16 were blacks, 12 were boys, and 11 were functioning at the third-grade level. The staff consisted of one black male teacher with 6 years teaching experience and one white, female teaching intern without previous teaching experience who shared teaching duties in the mornings. The school was strongly oriented toward experimental and innovative programs that would address the needs of its pupil population. School discipline had been decentralized and each teacher was expected to handle the problems arising in his own classroom. This particular class was known throughout the school for its noisy, truant, physically aggressive, abusive, destructive, and disruptive behavior, a reputation that was verified in the baseline observation period by the recorded behaviors of the subject pupils. Special curriculum materials had been ordered for this class, but their usefulness had been curtailed by the behavior of the class. An attempt had been made to split the class into two groups for more manageable circumstances, but this had already proved unsuccessful. At the request of the intern teacher, the investigators obtained permission from the school principal to institute a study incorporating behavior modification procedures. The purpose of the designed program was to increase classroom control and learning activities. The room was first divided into two sections so that total milieu control could be established in one room designated as B. The intent was to arrange conditions so that desirable behavior changes in pupils produced in Room B could be expected to transfer to Room A. Effective teacher control was to be established as a first objective and contingencies were then to be organized to emphasize increases in pupil time-on-learning-task behaviors for both individual study and teacher-pupil discussion periods. The study covered a period of 6 weeks divided into four phases. The program design included a token reinforcement program, teacher training, environment and curriculum manipulation, and videotaping for training, measurement, and analysis purposes. The video taping equipment was unobtrusively located in the bathroom during the room organization and, although pupils knew they were being taped, they did not know when the camera was on. Microphones were suspended from the light fixtures and gave ample coverage without attracting undue attenttion. Room B was rearranged so that the teacher had command of the door, and the seating arrangement and other equipment was placed so that the teacher could vary teaching stances to include more area of the room, rather than remaining posted in front of the pupils beside the teacher's desk or in front of the blackboard. Other extraneous fixtures and furniture were removed to decrease the environmental stimulus and make the room more attractive. A store was set up for displaying the prises to be purchased by tokens. The store contained not only the usual confections and small toys for rewards, but also educational prizes such as books, art lessons (from a real artist), model airplane, ship, and science packages, field trips and other rewards that would provide further educational opportunities within the school program and also give pupils the chance to select their own curriculum for part of the school day as they worked on their reward projects. The value of prizes ranged from 15 points for the lowest to 1,000 points for the highest valued project or field trip. Pupils were initially exposed to Room B and introduced to the point system at which time the desired target behaviors were defined. At the start of the program, each pupil was given 25 gratis points which allowed him to spend 15 points for a prize, leaving not quite enough points for another immediate purchase, but a good start on points for the next purchase. After exposure to this total milieu support room, pupils were taken to Room A, where they were told that only half of the class members could be in Room B at one time. For this reason, the points earned in Room A would give them access to Room B, but only points earned in Room B could be converted into prizes. The pupils then defined the behaviors to be awarded points for access to Room B. The behaviors listed were almost identical to those identified for prize point awards in Room A. In addition, it was determined that the two high point earners in Room B, the total milieu room, were to be allowed to remain in Room B another day. At the end of each day, the seven highest point earners in Room A were to be allowed to go to Room B the next day. A recorder-observer tallied behaviors and the points earned by each pupil from a position at the front of Room A each day. A recorder-observer in Room B recorded pupil response and teacher verbal reinforcement.

Teacher training was first initiated with the intern teacher with objectives that included developing skills for producing pupil behavior that could be positively reinforced as well as skills in preventing disruptive behavior. The teachers were also given assistance in identifying behavioral objectives for lesson content. The curriculum materials were selected and evaluated using both educational and control potential as prime criteria. The control potential of materials was determined by the amount of pupil participation in discussion, role play, choral reading, and competitive formats it provided and, in reference to workbook evaluation, how easily the material could be unitized for work completion objectives. The control potential provided the opportunities for positive pupil reinforcement.

The contingencies designed for this program appeared to encourage the individual's perception of his Performing Self as having impact on his environment. Through behaviors within his control and standards he was able to meet, the pupil gained an opportunity for further reflection of his positive impact by attaining a rewarded position (remaining in Room B) and by concrete prizes. The values placed on the prizes reflected a value for education and demonstrated the rewards to be gained by the acquisition of skills and knowledge over material rewards. It seems likely to us, however, that a program such as this would have to be continued for a far longer period before the subjects would be satiated with the quickly obtained prizes and begin to alter their value systems toward more difficult to achieve and delayed rewards.

An analysis of the observation data indicated that time-on-task pupil behavior increased from the baseline rate of 50% to a stable 80% for the treatment periods. It should be pointed out that the given baseline rate was not a true baseline since the data were obtained from early taped sessions after the program was instituted and not from the period prior to programmed intervention. Both teachers showed the effects of training in increased reinforcement rates for pupil responses. There were indications that the intern teacher may have temporarily reduced the reinforcement power of praise by over-application during one phase of the treatment. The procedures demonstrated substantial increases in positive pupil behavior and a reduction in disruptive behavior under both room conditions and with both teachers. At the time this report was published, the investigators had not completed examining the results of all data collected during the study and further reports should be forthcoming from these investigators.

The principle that behaviors occurring with high frequency in a free environment have reinforcement potential for behaviors occurring at lower frequencies (the Premack Principle, 1959), was applied in a study reported by Andrews (1970-1971). A low-performing "culturally deprived" seventh-grade group that displayed mild to severe behavior problems particularly in their first morning class were the subjects of this study. The teacher reported that these subjects did not display as much disruptive and inappropriate behavior in the afternoon class. An analysis of the conditions indicated that in the afternoon the class was allowed to interact with tutors from other classes and to watch television, activities which the subjects genuinely enjoyed. In discussion with the subjects, 12 undesirable classroom behaviors were identified and operationally defined with complete pupil understanding. A contract was then made between the pupils and the teacher stating that if no more than three of the listed behaviors occurred during the morning hour, the pupils would be allowed their tutor contact and television time in the afternoon hour. The teacher was to monitor and report the occurrence of misbehaviors. The pupils accepted the contract and achieved the criterion on the first day of its implementation. This level of performance was maintained for the remainder of the monitored four-week period. The teacher reported that when misbehaviors were recorded, the other subjects expressed strong peer disapproval and the offending behavior was not likely to be repeated by any subject for the rest of the hour. The experimenter suggested that behaviors a teacher is trying to minimize could also be used as rewards for a behavior he is trying to increase. For example, pupils who talk too much, read comic books during classtime, etc., could be rewarded with time to talk and time to read comic books contingent upon increased appropriate behavior during class time.

Teachers have traditionally reported a concern for maintaining discipline in classrooms. There is no question but that the teaching-learning situation is greatly enhanced for both teachers and pupils when pupils can control their own behavior and direct it toward the learning task. Rather than enter into a behavior modification program with the sole purpose of making classrooms manageable, however, there is a possibility that a behavior modification program could be used to change pupils' perceptions of their impact upon their environment. This would not only enhance the pupil's concept of self but would also reduce the controlling behaviors of teachers. Self-control should be a primary educational objective for an educational system charged with preparing individuals to live in a free, democratic society where they will be expected to obey laws and not individuals.

Teacher Modeling Behaviors and Pupils' Adoption of Standards

Modeling, as we perceive it, consists of performing behaviors under the observation of teachers who may or may not imitate the modeled behavior. As a teaching technique, modeling consists of performing behaviors intended for adoption by the observers. Unless it is furthered by examples of contrasting behavior or by verbal communication, modeling provides only an associative process for the acquisition of prescribed behaviors. By modeling one demonstrates a "how to" form of behavior that is specific to the problem it addresses and the situation in which it occurs. The initial impact of the modeled behavior depends upon the value system of the observer and his perception of the purpose and usefulness of the behavior. The association process can be strengthened by modeling the same behavior in the same situation consistently over a period of time, and a concept of generalizeability can be introduced by modeling a consistent behavior in observably related but altered situations. Modeling behavior constitutes a behavioral monologue, and the effectiveness of the modeled behavior as communication cannot be ascertained without evidence of its adoption by the audience. Within the behavioral dialogue, the monological nature of modeled behavior becomes dialogical as the developing self adopts and imitates the modeled behaviors and receives confirmation and approval for the appropriateness of his performance or disapproval for inappropriate application or imitation of the modeled behavior. Imitated behavior that does not meet with disapproval gains tacit approval until more specific evaluation is provided.

Behaviors modeled only by motor acts offer the least control for the integrity and intent of the modeled behavior. The performing model depends upon the context of his acts to supply the definition of purpose and intent, but the context and, therefore, the definition of the act is provided by the perception of the observer. When motor acts are accompanied by explication of the context, or the purpose, or the intent, or all three, the model gains increased control over the observers' perception of the behavior which should in turn, enhance the instructional value of modeling. But explication does not remove the determining effects of perception, and once perception is introduced as a factor, it becomes necessary to examine the efficacy of an instructional method with reference to those factors that can contribute to variations in individual perception. The adoption of modeled behaviors depends primarily upon the observer's perception of two power relationships: (1) the observer's perception of the model's power in relation to the observer's power, and/or (2) the observer's perception of the power of the behavior to achieve a perceived effect. The modeled behavior may be imitated on the basis of the perceived value and authority of the model, the kind of value and authority with which significant others are imbued. In this instance there may be an unquestioning acceptance of the behavior itself, its purpose and effect. The modeled behavior may also be imitated because of a perceived value for the behavior and its perceived purpose and effect with complete disregard for the model. Theoretically, we can expect to find significant correlations between the level and extent of behavior adoption and mutually held perceptual characteristics of observers.

Pupils sharing characteristics that affect perception such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, culture, race, or parental child rearing practices may show the same tendencies for imitating and adopting certain behaviors.

The effectiveness of modeling behavior in conjunction with or contrasted with direct (instructional) training as a method of helping pupils acquire standards and adopt behaviors which have moral value has been rather extensively reported. The effectiveness of the classroom teacher as a modeling agent has not been as widely investigated, although research reports often draw inferences for classroom teachers from research done outside the classroom. An assumption underlying the inferences drawn for teachers is that the teacher as a modeling agent is equal to the parent as agent, and even more often an assumption is made that the investigator is equal to the parent or the teacher as a modeling agent.

Feshbach and Feshbach (1972) reported the effects of teacher modeling on the stated preferences of pupils. The study was conducted with classroom teachers and pupils in their classroom setting. The experimental sample consisted of 21 white and 9 black pupils. The control group included 13 white and 14 black pupils. Both experimental and control subjects were males with average intelligence and ranged in age from 9 to 12 years. The report did not indicate the socioeconomic status of the study subjects, nor did it refer to the geographical location of the school. In the initial phase of this study, both control and experimental subjects were asked to rank a set of 10 animal pictures in order of personal preference. Four pictures from the middle preference rank were selected and enlarged for display along with the pictures of two other animals. These pictures were displayed in the two experimental classrooms for a period of only one week. The white, female teachers in both experimental classrooms made prearranged comments about the animals, accompanied with appropriate smiles and frowns. This behavior occurred not more than twice a day during the display week. Positive comments were made about two preselected animals and negative remarks were made about the two other animals that had been selected from the preference listing. The content of the comments took a moralistic tone and the animals were referred to as either "nice" (positive) or "not as nice" (negative), but no reasons were apparently provided for the judgments rendered. At the end of five days, the pictures were removed from the experimental classrooms and all subjects were retested on the preference sort. None of the control pupils had been exposed to either the displayed pictures or the teacher comments about the animals. The results of the two preference sorts were analyzed to determine the shift in preference toward the teachers' modeled preference. For the white experimental subjects, the change in preference did not differ significantly from that of the controls. For the black experimental subjects the change toward teacher modeled preference was significantly greater than that of the control group. Since no group had simply been exposed to a display of the animals without comment from the teacher, the possibility that some choice may have been influenced by increased familiarity with the animal models was not considered and the shift of the black male experimental subjects toward teacher preference through modeling was considered well demonstrated. In another study conducted in a school setting, Atyeo (1972) also found that teachers significantly altered the preferences of predominantly black preschool subjects from low-income homes by modeling affectionate and preferring behavior toward one of two dolls that were identical except for the color and trimming of their dresses. The investigator reported that this change in preference occurred through modeling alone, without the use of verbal or token rewards for imitating the modeled behavior. Each age group of three-, four-, and five-year-old subjects had an experimental and control group, and in addition, two classrooms, one at the four-year-old and one at the five-year-old level were given an exaggerated experimental treatment. The total study involved 8 classroom teachers, 45 experimental subjects, 36 exaggerated experimental treatment subjects, and 44 comparison subjects. The experimental period was approximately three weeks long. Treatment consisted of having teachers in the experimental classroom display a preference for the doll which had been least preferred by the subjects in the pre-treatment period. The teachers displayed the preference for the least-preferred doll on any occasion involving doll play, and ignored the presence of the pupil preferred doll. The exaggerated experimental treatment consisted of exaggerated attention and handling of the teacher-preferred doll and continued exclusion of the non-preferred doll. Teachers in the control classrooms were instructed not to demonstrate any particular interest in either doll. The results of this study reported by age groups indicated that the three-year-old subjects of both the experimental and control groups reversed their doll preferences during the three-week period. The experimental group's reversal was significant at the .01 level and the comparison group's reversal was significant at the .05 level. At the four-year-old level, both the experimental and exaggerated experimental subjects showed a reversal of preference under the modeling treatment at a level of statistical significance, but the control group did not. The same results were found for the two experimental groups and the control group of five-year-old subjects.

In the Feshbach and Feshbach study, the teachers' comments communicated not only their preference, but a preference based upon some unexplicated standard of "nice" and "not nice" which was then associated with the animal pictures to imply a moral concept. This concept was briefly but consistently repeated for five consecutive days. Since the white male experimental subjects were not significantly influenced by the modeled behavior of their teachers, the very general level conclusion by the investigators that the data of this study demonstrated the teacher's ability to influence the attitudes of pupils by brief expressions of opinions unrelated to curriculum objectives is completely dependent upon the scores of the black subjects. In discussing these results the authors contrasted the significant imitative behavior of these black male subjects with the results of previous research (Portuges and Feshbach, 1972), which indicated that eight- to ten-year-old black males of a mixed sample showed the least amount and statistically insignificant imitative behavior when subjected to filmed, white teacher models. As a possible explanation for the contradictory behavior of the black males in these two studies, Feshbach, et al., suggested that the difference in imitative behavior was due to the difference in the behaviors to be imitated. In the study using filmed models the behavior imitated reflected pupil preference for positive or negative modes of teacher reinforcement. In the study of pupils' change in preference the imitated behavior reflected conforming tendencies. Feshbach and Feshbach suggested that the security of the subject and the authority of the model may be the dominant factor for producing imitative behavior reflecting conformity. This explanation would be much more applicable if the teachers in the study had been confined to making statements of strict teacher preference such as "I like turtles so much more than giraffes," etc., to more clearly demonstrate the power of the model. The insecurity demonstrated by the black male subjects may not have been as related to the power of the model (a condition that could be presumed for both black and white pupils) as it was to the content of the modeled behavior itself. The black subjects may have responded to the differentiating cues of "nice" and "not nice," not as teacher preference and opinion, but as factual representations of complex white middle-class morality. White pupils may have been demonstrating more security in their knowledge of the content of the modeled behavior by rejecting the cues and the spurious relationship between "nice" and "not nice" animal classifications. Black pupils, then, may have been more intent upon aligning themselves with what was considered "nice" by the standards of the white middle-class than in conforming to the teacher's preference because of the teacher's personal position of power.

The Ateyo study offers another opportunity for examining the purported effects of teacher modeling on pupils' imitating behavior. The experimental teachers in this study behaviorally expressed a preference for one doll over another by communicating some undefined standard of acceptability, using affectionate, attending behaviors. At the same time these teachers may have been communicating some undefined standard of unacceptability through their ignoring and rejecting behaviors. As far as the teachers and the investigator were concerned, the dolls were identical except for the color of their dresses, and the difference in dress colors provided the basis for discriminating between their modeling of accepting and rejecting behaviors. The investigator reported that one "observant and determined" three-year-old subject caught the color-based preference pattern used by the teacher and announced her intent to stick with the rejected doll. But the investigator also reported that the four-year-old pupils were very aware of the "minute variation" in the trimmings on the dresses of the two dolls (the blue dress had a felt heart decoration and the green dress had a tiny gold necklace) and that frequent comments were made about the pretty necklace. There is no doubt in our minds that the teachers were able to discriminate between the two dolls on the basis of color, nor is there any question about their demonstrated ability to influence the preference behavior of the experimental subjects. Our question addresses the ability of a modeled behavior to maintain the integrity of its message or "teaching" through the process of adoption. We perceive that the intended message of the model for the experimental groups was "blue preferred, green rejected" or "green preferred, blue rejected," but we suspect that most of the three-year-old group and some of the four-year-olds may have been receiving "heart preferred, necklace rejected" or "necklace preferred, heart rejected." At the four-year-old level, an exaggerated experimental group were given two completely identical dolls differing only in dress color with which the teacher modeled exaggerated preferential and affectionate behaviors. The investigator reported that the subjects gave the preferred doll treatment similar to that modeled by the teacher and that the other doll also received similar treatment, but was "selected as second choice." In the exaggerated experimental five-year-old group, the author sought to corroborate the findings of the other experimental studies in this report. However, in this study, the preferred doll was designated as having "poor health" and was made the subject for much nursing and doctoring role play. The basis for preferential treatment was changed from teacher's preference to "sick doll" and introduces an ambiguity into the interpretation of the basis of pupil preference and imitative behaviors. In our opinion, this study does not corroborate the findings of the other four studies in this report.

Allen and Liebert (1969) investigated the effects of modeled deviant behavior through both live (demonstrating) and symbolic (reporting) modes on the subsequent adoptive behavior of subjects who had, according to the investigators, previously "learned" a stringent standard for their behavior. Two experimental studies were described in this report, the second study being an extension of the first. However, our interests are confined to the first study. Subjects for the first study were 12 boys and 12 girls from the third and fourth grades, all from an elementary school in a large southeastern urban area. No further information on ethnicity or socioeconomic background is provided in the report. The studies were conducted by a female investigator and two male behavior models. Since no differences in the scores of boys and girls were indicated by the data, the scores were combined, but there is no indication that either age or grade level were considered as variables in this study. The experimental apparatus consisted of a miniature bowling game with 10 score lights designed to register a pre-set sequence of scores for the 16 trials which constituted one game. In addition, there was a button-operated token dispenser which delivered a stainless steel coin for self-rewarding. The female investigator, after identifying herself as representing a toy company, briefly instructed each subject on how the game was played and demonstrated how to work the token dispenser for self-rewarding. She then "explicitly instructed" each child that tokens were to be taken only for scores of 20 "because 20 is a good score and deserves a token." The subjects were then shown a display of prizes described as "school supplies and other prizes" ranging in value from $.95 to $10.00, and subjects were informed that tokens could be redeemed for prizes. After these preliminaries common for all subjects, the three treatment groups were formed and control group procedures were implemented. The three treatment groups consisted of (1) deviant symbolic modeling in which the male model reported to the subjects that he had just played the game and rewarded himself for scores of 15 and 20, (2) deviant live modeling in which the model played the game in the presence of the subject, rewarding himself for scores of 15 and 20 and making verbal explanations of his behavior, i.e., "15, I'll take a token for 15," or "5, I won't take a token for 5," and (3) the deviant symbolic and live modeling treatment in which subjects first heard that the model had previously played a game and rewarded himself for scores of 15 and 20, after which the model played a game in the presence of the subject, rewarding himself for scores of 15 and 20. Subjects in the control group apparently played the game by themselves without further instruction or demonstration. The heuristic concept that subjects would adopt the modeled behavior containing the most information value was used as a basis for predicting the results of this study. Treatment conditions were designed on the presumption of a difference in the information value of live and symbolic modeling, and in our opinion, an additional assumption that instructions given to a subject briefly and explicitly are "learned" by the subject. The results of the study, as anticipated and interpreted by the investigator and authors, indicated that exposure to live, deviant behavior modeling weakened adherance to the "learned" stringent standard more than exposure to deviant symbolic modeling, although both modeling conditions significantly weakened adherence to the stringent standard, and a combination of the two modeled conditions obtained even more significant deviation from the stringent standard. In their discussion, the authors state that differential information value was assumed on the basis of rational considerations and suggest that future research should independently assess subjects' perception of the value of available cues in order to identify and define the mechanisms underlying their findings in this and the extended second experimental study.

In keeping with these authors' suggestions for future research on this subject and our own thinking as well, we would like to offer some observations about this study which we feel indicate the need for further consideration of pupil perception in the designs of similar research studies undertaken in the future. If we are to obtain cumulative information on the effectiveness of behavior modeling through research studies, the reports of such studies need to document rather thoroughly exactly what happened to whom. On the theory-based assumption that pupil perception, and therefore the factors that contribute to perception, is highly relevant to adoption of modeled behavior, the description of the sample population by such variables as age, sex, socioeconomic background, IQ, and any other unique characteristics is essential to the process of identifying and defining the underlying mechanisms. It is equally essential that these variables be considered in the research design when possibilities of perceptually-based differences exist in the sample population.

An examination of the Allen and Liebert study in the light of possible points of perceptual differences among the subjects produced the following observations and conjecture. As we perceive this study from the pupils' point of view, there were three prescribed "how to" behaviors to be acquired by each subject: (1) How to play the game,

(2) How to score the game, (3) How to reward yourself for scores in the game. As a well-known game, bowling may or may not have been a reference point for most of these subjects in understanding how the game was to be played, but the pre-set scoring device removed any real necessity for actually acquiring a skilled behavior, and all subjects could perceive their scores as evidence of their skill or lack of it, a perception which may have influenced self-rewarding behaviors. The second behavior,"How to score the game,"required that the subjects in the control and symbolic deviant behavior model groups be able to recognize the numeral "20" and associate it with the reward condition. Subjects in the live and combined symbolic and live modeling groups could either recognize the numeral "20" or identify it by its place since the model announced his scores during his demonstration game. The score of 20 was located at the peak of the scoreboard triangle arranged with two 15's in the third row, three 10's in the second row, and four 5's in the first row. The score lit up for each trial and, over a game which constituted 16 trials, the pre-set scores provided four repeats of each score. Subjects in these two groups therefore had four opportunities to identify the scores of 15 and 20 by location during the model's game. The third behavior "how to reward" required that the subject be able to operate the token dispenser by pressing the button and taking the released token. Subjects exposed to live modeling also received an additional demonstration of how to operate, as well as when to operate, the token dispenser.

The group mean for self-rewarding on scores of 20 given for the four experimental conditions demonstrates a difference in the informational value of direct instruction (the control group), direct instruction with verbal reinforcement (the symbolic modeling group) and direct instruction with verbal reinforcement and demonstration (the live and combined live and symbolic groups). The control group demonstrated the lowest rate of self-reward, the symbolically reinforced group improved in self-rewarding, and the last two groups attained the highest possible rate of self-reward for scores of 20. The self-rewarding scores of the control group, however, do not attest to the condition of a "previously learned stringent standard" as reported by the authors. Perhaps "previously given rule" would have been more appropriately descriptive.

An additional examination of informational value differences between the modeled behaviors might be obtained by comparing the frequency of self-rewarding for other than scores of 20 and 15 between groups. The authors reported that more than 80% of all subjects did not reward themselves for scores under 15 and 10 and, therefore, only data obtained from rewarding for scores of 15 and 20 were used in their analysis. The control group comprised 25% of all subjects and it would be interesting to know if the control subjects accounted for a significant amount of the low-score rewarding behavior.

Differences in pupil perception which may contribute to the differential adoption of modeled behaviors are derived from the power of the model and/or the power of the behavior to produce an effect. In this study we have two adult models, the female investigator who identified herself as a person from a toy company testing a new game to see how people liked it, and the male behavior model who was introduced as a person there to play the game with the subjects. The authors reported that treatment subjects were explicitly instructed in the presence of the male model to reward themselves only for scores of 20 "because 20 is a good score and deserves a token." Immediately following this event, the model either announced to the subject in the absence of the investigator that he rewarded himself for scores of 20 and 15, or demonstrated this rewarding behavior including such statements as "15, I'll take a token for 15." What are the possible pupil perceptions of these adults? One might be that "there was a lady from the toy company who told me about the game and a man who knew how to play it." The fact that the male model introduced the score of 15 as one deserving the token reward immediately after the admonition from the "toy lady" to only reward for scores of 20 may well have been taken as evidence of a lapse in her knowledge of the game and therefore as corrective, not contradictory, behavior on the male model's part. In this case, the subject perceives the two adults as one source of information and does not concern himself with discriminating between the power of the two models. If they are viewed as separate powers, at least two possible sources for perceptual differences are present:

(1) sex of the investigator and the model with the social inference that men are to be obeyed before women, and (2) the evidence of the male model's behavior as one who knew how to play, score, and reward the game. The subjects exposed to the symbolic modeling in which the model simply reported that he had rewarded himself for scores of 20 and 15 may have had the standard of rewarding for scores of 20 reinforced, while the reward for a score of 15 may have been perceived as a new rule without reinforcement, or as a rule that applied only to adult male game players. Where the model actually demonstrated the reward behavior for the score of 15 in the presence of the subject, the model's motor and verbal behavior may have supplied a rationale for including 15 as a rewarded score on its own merits. Pupil perception of the power of the two adult models and the content of the modeled verbal and motor behaviors may have contributed to the adoption of the deviant behavior through lack of differentiation between early instruction and later demonstrations. In that case only the control group and the investigators perceived the reward for scores of "20 only" as the "stringent standard," and only the investigators perceived the stringent standard as "previously learned." The remainder of the experimental subjects acquired the stringent standard of rewarding for good scores of 20 and 15 only, and successfully demonstrated the differential effectiveness of the modes of modeling behavior in helping pupils acquire standards.

Liebert and Ora (1968) reported that subjects given opportunities for self-rewarding under high incentive conditions deviated from strict adherence to the rules more than subjects given the same opportunities under low incentive conditions. They also noted that those subjects who had received direct training or modeling of the rules for rewarding tended to maintain the principle of "deservingness" even when deviating from the rules by taking tokens for relatively higher scores. In this study conducted with a sample of 72 elementary school pupils 8 to 10 years of age, from a large southeastern urban area, the investigators also reported success in communicating self-reward standards by both direct training methods and behavior modeling of the standards. Hildebrandt, Feldman, and Ditrichs (1973) found that exposing subjects to concordant rules and models increased the tendency of subjects to adopt the rule under self-directing conditions. They also found, however, that subjects still had a tendency to adopt more lenient standards for their behavior when given the opportunity. The subjects in this study were described as 96 second-, third-, and fourth-grade pupils (48 girls and 48 boys). In another study reported by Liebert, Hanratty, and Hill (1969), conducted with 24 boys and 24 girls from the second grade of an elementary school situated in a lower-middle-class area of a large southeastern city, the investigators found that when the subjects were exposed to three levels of "rule structuring," the highest level of rule structuring influenced significantly more rule adoption. The three levels of rule structuring differed in the content for the differentiating and associating cognitive processes as well as in the amount of affective behavior exhibited. For the highest level as described in this study, the model enthusiastically announced the rule each time a score of 20 was obtained. For moderate structuring, the model announced that 20 was a good score, and for low structuring, the model simply stated the score as it occurred, and announced without further explanation whether he would or wouldn't take a chip for the score. It would be important to know if the effects of "rule structuring" were affected by variables of age and sex.

Reports of behavior modeling indicate that it is a very effective means of communicating standards when it is used in conjunction with other forms of communication that help to interpret and define the modeled behavior. As a successful teaching technique, behavior modeling apparently requires consistency and repetition on the part of the model. But, perhaps even more critical is the subject's or client's projected value for the power of the model, or for the subject's perceived value of the modeled behavior, either as useful information or as a means of achieving desired effects. Modeling of motor behavior may well provide an associative process for creating constructs of what to do and how to do it, but without some form of augmentation to provide the cognitive content necessary for differentiation, the formation of the constructs of where, when, and most particularly, why the modeled behaviors are appropriate, may be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

The self-image and the ideal self-image acquired only through the associative process by the imitation of modeled behavior restricts the developing self to a self defined by external conditions and requires that conditions must always be controlled in order to sustain the desired image of self.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Locus of Control

The initial state of the developing self is one of dependence upon others and complete lack of conscious control. In the course of development this initial state is altered by the acquisition of skills and behaviors that lead toward the development of concepts and acquired states of independence and control. Both concept development and skill acquisition are subject to the limiting influences of the physiological condition of the self and the psychological experiences provided by the behavioral dialogue. Within the behavioral dialogue the significant other and the environment introduce both idiosyncratic individual and cultural influences on the extent and direction of the independence and control developed by the individual. Culturally determined sex roles and other social mores governing the behaviors of group members can determine the extent of independence and the appropriateness of individual initiative.

From the developing self's perception of his impact upon others and his environment and from his perception of self differentiated from, but related to others, the self derives constructs of the effects of his behavior. These constructs can represent a belief that reinforcements such as acceptance, approval, and effectiveness are contingent upon the behaviors, abilities, attributes, and capacities of the self, or that reinforcements are under the control of powers external to and uncontrolled by the self. A belief that behavior initiated by the self has a positive impact upon others and the environment characterizes an internal locus of control, while belief that one has very little positive impact on others and the environment characterizes an external locus of control. The conditions of immediate relationships, rather than the conditions of the larger social milieu, are more effective in determining the developing self's locus of control. If the circumstances within the behavioral dialogue deprive the developing self of the necessary participation and performance of his dialogical role, the perception of self is one of conditional and qualified impact dictated and determined by controlling others. The controlling conditions of the larger environment and social milieu, i.e., economic conditions, geographic locations, and racial or ethnic prejudices, are secondary sources of controlling influences which affect the nature of the behavioral dialogue through the behavior of significant others, which ultimately influence the beliefs of the developing self.

Joe (1971) reviewed research investigating parental antecedents of locus of control attitudes in children. The research examined gave support to the theory that externally oriented children have mothers who are highly authoritarian, hostile-rejecting, or overly protective and inclined to use affective punishment as well as privilege withdrawal in disciplining their children. Internally oriented children are described as having parents who are accepting, consistent in discipline and who encourage early independent behavior from their children. Similar profiles of parental antecedents for internally or externally oriented children were reported in a study by Katkovsky, Crandall, and Good (1967).

The hypothesis that pupils categorized as being internally or externally oriented would respond differentially to highly teacher-centered or pupil-centered instructional styles was investigated by White and Howard (1970). The subjects for the study were 32 boys enrolled in a seventh-grade science course at a special residential school for students of average or higher abilities who were achieving at two or more levels below their appropriate grade level. After being categorized as either internally or externally oriented, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of the two instructional treatment conditions. The results of the study indicated that internally oriented pupils achieved equally well under both instructional styles, but that externally oriented pupils achieved significantly more under the pupil-centered instruction condition where they were expected and allowed to assume a share of the responsibility for their own educational program. In accordance with the theory, these findings could be interpreted as an instance where pupils with self-perceived low impact on their environment were given an opportunity through the instructional format to participate in the dialogue and perceive the impact of their behavior upon their environment. For the internally oriented pupils, Rotter's (1966) statement that individuals who believe that they have control over what happens to them may conform to suggestions from others when they choose to do so, even when they are aware of other alternatives, but that any perceived attempts to manipulate or covertly control their behaviors and their choices will be actively resisted.

The pupil-centered instructional format allows pupils to participate in goal-directed activities and to assume responsibility in accordance with their present level of competence for self-direction. It is often the question of pupils' ability to assume responsibility for self-direction that deters teachers from giving pupils more participatory roles in planning and implementing educational programs. Child development studies have reported that children often display increasing aggressiveness in doll play from session to session in the presence of "permissive" adult experimenters and therapists. The difficulty in interpreting studies referring to "permissiveness" lies in understanding the relationship between the adult and child described by the word "permissive." In play-therapy sessions the increase in aggressive child behavior is interpreted as a release of aggression inhibitors or a reduction of fear experienced by the child in interaction with accepting, non-judgmental adults. Such an explanation implies that the child client has already acquired inhibitors of aggressive impulses and a measure of self-control over his behavior, a state that may have been reached with or without the presence of fear. A definition of parental permissiveness which implies that no parental restraint has been exercised with regard to child aggressiveness also suggests that the child has not been given any feedback other than undifferentiated acceptance (or tacit acceptance by ignoring) of his aggressive behaviors and that, therefore, the child has not acquired the standards or values needed in order to exercise control over aggressive behaviors. Any cues as to what aggressive behaviors are to be permitted as well as when and where would have to come from the environment since the parents of a child raised so "permissively" would not supply them. Pupils who reach school age without acquiring the standards and values of the middle-class white society for socially acceptable, i.e., mild verbal expressions of aggression, can be a problem for the classroom teacher.

In a study of pre-school male children, Siegal and Kohn (1959) tested the hypothesis that a child will increase aggressive behavior from session to session in the presence of a premissive adult and that in the absence of any adult, a child's aggressive behavior will tend to decrease. For this study, 18 pairs of boys were selected and assigned randomly to one of two experimental conditions, Adult Absence and Adult Presence. The oldest boy in each pair was selected as the experimental subject. The average age of the experimental subjects was four years and seven months. The pairs of boys were observed and the amount of aggressive play displayed was recorded by code for two play sessions. The results indicated support for the hypothesis in that subjects in the Adult Present condition increased their aggressive play in the second coded session, while subjects in the Adult Absent condition reduced the amount of aggressive play. The authors suggested that in the presence of an adult, subjects appeared willing to relinquish the functions of self control to the adult present, who represented both the standards and an inhibiting force. In the absence of an accommodating adult presence, subjects were compelled to switch on their own self-control systems and implement their acquired standards after an initial period of disorganization. The phenomenon of releasing individual self-control to leadership or authority figures is not an uncommon behavior for adults as individuals, and is even more common as an adult group behavior.

In a study involving 800 sixth-grade pupils of a midwestern urban school system, Flanders, Morrison, and Brode (1968) found that the loss of positive attitudes toward teachers and schoolwork during the school year was highest among pupils with an external control orientation. Pupils whose teachers exhibited a low incidence of praise and pupil encouragement also suffered a loss of positive attitude toward school. This sample population was considered by the investigators to be representative of over 3,000 pupils in the school system, and therefore the findings were considered generalizeable to similar educational systems. The subjects were first tested to ascertain their internal-external locus of control orientation and a measure of pupil attitudes toward school was taken in October shortly after school began. In addition to the pupil-report data, six classroom observation sessions provided measures of teacher-pupil interaction. Another measure of pupil attitudes was then taken in May. From analyses of the data investigators found that pupils altered their positive perception of their teachers and class activities significantly during the first four months of the school year. These changes were unrelated to pupil IQ, grades given for school work, or socioeconomic status, but were related to the pupils' internal or external control orientations and to the amount of teacher praise and encouragement experienced by the pupils.

Teacher Behavior and the Moral Development of Pupils

Theoretically, the foundations for future moral behavior begin with the early psychological experiences of the developing self in the behavioral dialogue with significant others and the environment. When the developing self has a positive perception of his impact on significant others he qcquires the basis for a trusting rather than distrusting relationship with others, and if the majority of his continuing psychological experiences are characterized by positive acceptance, the developing self can acquire attitudes of trust and openness toward others. Acceptance by others engenders a basic feeling of inherent worth and acceptability of the self, and when the basic understanding of the self is one of worth and therefore "goodness," those behaviors that result in disapproval from others can be properly associated to become disapproved behaviors which alter the more desirable state of approval. With two sources of approval, himself and his approved behaviors, the developing self has only one source of disapproval to control, a source that is within his control. The control of disapproval can first be achieved by associating the behavior with disapproval and omitting it from the schema of approval-gaining behaviors, and later by acquiring the constructs and standards of those whose approval is valued. By associating disapproval with unacceptable behavior, and unacceptable behavior as a performance product within his control, the developing self acquires a sense of responsibility for the consequences of his behavior. When significant others respond to the developing self's observable feeling of responsibility by differentiating between causal behaviors and causal circumstances, the basis for a concept of "intent" is formed.

The developing self who experiences early rejection and thus perceives his impact upon significant others and the environment as negative acquires a basis of distrust rather than trust in relationships with others. If his continuing psychological experiences are dominated by rejection, the negative perception of self in relation to others can result in an attitude of distrust, defense, and hostility toward others. Under these conditions, the self is perceived as unacceptable and valueless in relation to others, existing in a state of disapproval. Subsequent behaviors that result in approval and acceptance can then be perceived as the source of approval and acceptance and become a means of altering the existing state of disapproval. Behaviors that are disapproved, however, have two possible sources--the disapproved self or the performance product of that self. To control the response of others and maintain a qualified state of acceptance and approval, the developing self must acquire and perform those behaviors approved by those whose acceptance he values. By associating acceptance with approved behavior, the control over others' responses is limited to the developing self's control over approved behaviors. With the acquisition of prescribed behaviors and standards, the source of approval can shift from others to the approved behavior and standard. Responsibility can only be assumed for those behaviors performed in defiance of the known rules, while other behaviors resulting in disapproval remain outside of the developing self's control.

The initial state of rejection or acceptance experienced by the developing self does not in itself determine the subsequent moral or amoral behavior of the individual. The role played by significant others within the behavioral dialogue in supplying the interpretation, association, and differentiation of behaviors from which concepts and behavioral constructs are formed is far more influential in the formation of moral behavior. The child who experiences initial acceptance and whose subsequent behaviors are consistently approved and positively reflected acquires a positive concept of himself, but is given no cognitive basis for differentiating between himself and his behavioral product. Without the impact of any consequences from his relationship to others, no applicable standards exist, and the function of others in any relationship is to provide acceptance and approval. The child whose behavioral dialogue offers these conditions may confront disapproval from others in the environment, but this may only serve to reinforce the role of the approving significant other and limit future psychological experiences. The child who experiences initial rejection and whose subsequent behaviors are consistently disapproved and negatively reflected is also deprived of the psychological experiences and cognitive content which help him differentiate between himself and his behavioral products, and under such circumstances, he cannot acquire the behaviors or standards because he lacks sufficient differentiating feedback. The developing self who feels accepted and who receives interpretive feedback from significant others and the environment which permit him to acquire the prescribed "how to" behaviors of his society may acquire these prescriptive behaviors to avoid disapproval from valued others.

In addition, the basic feeling of self acceptance and trust of others allows him to investigate and risk an active role in the behavioral dialogue and, even with limited associative feedback of approval or disapproval from significant others, he is encouraged to have more frequent and more varied psychological experiences from which he can formulate additional categories and constructs for goal-achieving behaviors approved by his society. His own psychological experiences become the basis from which moral judgments can be made. If, however, the significant others supply the accepted child with cognitive information that not only fosters the acquisition of prescriptive "how to" moral behaviors but also supplies the answer for "why" such behaviors are moral, the concept of morality may be developed to include the relationship of individual behavior to its impact on others in the society. Significant others who answer the question "why" by referring only to the power of enforcers, that is, parental authority or societal authority, provide only an associative base for a concept of morality and focus the attention of the developing self upon the punitive consequences to the self rather than the consequences of individual behavior upon the society. The child who feels inherently disapproved finds his own answer to the "why" of moral behavior in the acceptance and approval obtained through acquiring the prescribed behavior. Under these conditions the relationship between moral behavior and the sanctioning power of others and traditions or rules is experientially derived from the circumstances of the behavioral dialogue. For these individuals, the emphasis for moral behavior is on how to acquire approval and additional differentiating information about behaviors which answer the questions "where," "what," and "when." This information is used to further define how to do what is right and approved, while the association with the power of prescribed behavior to help the individual avoid punishment or disapproval is retained. For the individual oriented to view individual morality in terms of its impact on the society, the differentiating information of"where","what,"and"when," remain associated with the "why" and broaden the base for making moral decisions based on the expected consequence to others.

The process of acquiring moral behavior is subject to the same influences affecting the acquisition of all social behaviors. When the behaviors and standards are not constant and consistent, goal-directed behavioral schema cannot be appropriately developed nor can standards be acquired. The individual without sufficient cognitive structures and goal-achieving behavioral schema must operate without a framework, taking cues from the behavior of others around him. In that sense, those who adopt the morality of those around them can be considered other-directed unless and until they internalize the standards and develop a construct of morality from which to initiate their own moral behavior. Since the process of developing moral behavior is initially "other" directed, the concepts and standards developed by the individual will be those appropriate to his developmental and experiential levels, and confrontation with moral decisions outside his previous experience forces the individual to rely on inadequate concepts, limited associations, and cues from others.

The power base for moral behavior is approval. Significant others who encourage moral behavior by relating the behavior to its social impact embue moral behavior with power that can be acquired with the behavior. Significant others who encourage moral behavior by relating it to the punitive powers of the enforcers embue not the moral behavior, but the rule and its enforcers with power which cannot be acquired with the behavior.

Hoffman (1970) described two types of seventh-grade pupils designated by their moral judgment responses as having internal moral orientations: (1) a humanistic type who demonstrated concern for human consequences of behavior and who took extenuating circumstances into consideration when making moral judgments, and (2) a conventional type who demonstrated rigid obedience to institutional norms regardless of consequences or circumstances. These two types appeared to have much in common according to Hoffman, but the humanistic subjects appeared more tolerant of "anti-moral impulses," were more apt to feel guilt as a consequence of their behavior and its effect on others, and tended to identify themselves with personal behavioral characteristics of their parents. The conventional subjects appeared more "repressed," more apt to feel guilt for their own impulses than for harm done to others and were more identified with the power of the parental role than with other behavioral characteristics of their parents. A third group identified as having an external-moral orientation was described by Hoffman as being oriented toward fear of detection and punishment.

The teacher in the classroom is expected to represent and enforce the moral standards and behaviors of the dominant culture in our society. These behaviors and standards are generally assumed to be those of the white, middle-class segment of our society. The teacher is expected to teach and express the values and standards of this culture to the pupils, modeling moral behaviors, enforcing the rules and standards, and rewarding or punishing pupils in accordance with their obedience and compliance. Parents expect their pupils to "learn" honesty, respect for authority and property, responsibility, and a certain amount of social decorum. If the teacher serves as a significant other, it may be possible to impart moral standards and behaviors to those pupils who have not yet confronted the prescribed behaviors of the core culture. For others who have acquired prescribed behaviors, the teacher might well function as one who supplies the necessary and additional differentiating information through which pupils could acquire a more adequate concept of moral behavior.

Aside from modeling behavior, a technique discussed under its own heading, the investigation of teacher behaviors and their impact on pupil moral development has been minimal.

Fischer (1970) examined one of the most dominant areas of administrative concern for moral behavior in the educational system, cheating on examinations. In this study, the effects of five variations of teacher behavior on levels of cheating under classroom conditions were investigated. The experimental subjects, 135 boys and girls, were enrolled in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades of three public schools in a large southeastern city. The subjects were described by their teachers as being from low to high middle-class homes. For this study, cheating was defined as the use of an answer sheet while taking a 60-item, multiple choice test designed as a "general achievement" test. Half of the items on this test were sham items constructed so that either none or all of the choices offered were correct, but arbitrary answers were selected for the answer sheet. The criterion for cheating behavior was the appearance of nine or more correct sham answers,which placed the occurrence beyond statistical chance. Groups of 10 to 15 subjects were tested at one time in a classroom situation with seats widely separated from each other, ostensibly to reduce copying, but actually to increase the opportunity for cheating. Subjects were told that scores on the test would be included in their six-week grades in social studies to increase the value of the test situation. Pupils were handed the test and the answer sheet and were instructed to take the test in the 30 minutes allotted and then to score their own papers by the answer sheet. All subjects were instructed not to look at the answer sheet prior to or during the test period and not to alter or add answers while they were scoring their papers, since any of these actions would be considered cheating. The control group received only the instructions cited above. A second group, identified as "Informative Appeal to Honesty" condition, were given the standard instructions along with a statement of the teacher's purpose in giving this test. This purpose was described as the teacher's need to evaluate her teaching and to obtain true measures of pupil knowledge in order to improve the course. Attention was also drawn to the pupil's need to identify areas for further teaching help. The information and appeal were given in a very matter-of-fact style. The third condition, "Public Affirmation of Value" treatment, followed the general instructions with a discussion of cheating, which was casually introduced by the investigator while he appeared to be waiting for the official test time to begin. The investigator casually asked the group what elementary pupils thought about cheating and, after a general period of discussion, each pupil was asked to give his name and the reasons why he felt he would not cheat on a test like the one he was about to take. A "Value-Relevant Threat of Punishment" condition additionally informed the subjects that since pupils "in your grade" had tended to cheat on this particular test by taking answers from the answer sheet, pupils who cheated would be required to write the sentence "Although _I_ do not believe in cheating, I cheated on this test," 50 times for punishment. "Non-Value-Relevant Threat of Punishment" gave the same information about previous cheating behavior and gave a punishment consisting of writing numbers from one to 100 twenty-five times. Following the test-taking in each school, pupils were assembled to explain the test and its purpose. In two schools pupils were asked to write a "yes" or "no" on a slip of paper to indicate anonymously whether they actually had or hadn't cheated on the test. The results of this study indicated that over 65% of the control group and the Informative Appeal group cheated on the test. Cheating was significantly lower in the Public Affirmation and the Value-Relevant and Non-Relevant Threat groups. It was determined that in the two schools where pupils were asked to report their cheating prior to and after the explanation of the test, 86 of the participants had cheated. On the prior assessment, only 6 subjects acknowledged cheating. After the explanation and the statement informing the pupils that half of them had actually cheated on the test, still only 25 subjects anonymously acknowledged that they had cheated.

The investigator felt that the effectiveness of the Public Affirmation treatment, although not statistically superior to the two Threat of Punishment conditions, at least offered more to encourage a child to adopt a value of honesty and to express this value in his own behavior, making it a more valuable technique than regulation by threat of punishment. The author reports that in post-experimental discussions subjects appeared to be aware of the operational definition of cheating given for this study. As in many other situations that require an understanding of ethical behavior, the inability of these pupils to acknowledge cheating was considered by the author to be evidence of the pupils' childish understanding of ethics and inability to concretize ethical beliefs by ethical behavior. It is suggested by the author that teachers make more effort to state ethical principles and also to provide opportunities for the child to integrate his beliefs and his behaviors. This may, according to this investigator, allow the pupils to see that the teacher values honest behavior as well as grades. It appears possible to us that the adversary conditions between pupils and teachers, pupils and tests, and pupils and school rules might be fostering conditions for unethical behavior. Very few pupils escape the fact that academic achievement, honesty, respect for authority and property, and responsibility for doing assignments have high priority in the system's value hierarchy. But, as teachers often say, "When you cheat, you hurt no one but yourself," and in the day-to-day battlefield of the educational system where academic achievement is a primary value and grades represent achievement status, gaining higher grades without hurting anyone else may appear to the pupil as the most practical application of ethics.

White and Minden (1969) examined the change in pupil attitudes as the result of small group discussions focused on moral beliefs and standards. The sample included 170 high school pupils, 70 males and 100 females in their third (junior) year of a suburban, parochial high school. The subjects were given a passage to read individually which covered two moral principles. After reading the passage they were tested to establish a control for reading level and cognitive understanding of the content. The subjects were then asked to rate each of the two principles and were then randomly assigned in groups of five to review and discuss the material for 15 minutes. The understanding was that each group would arrive at a consensus to be reported to the total group. Prior to reporting, the subjects were again tested on the same forms used in the pretest. Although the pretest did not indicate a sex difference in responses, the posttest indicated that female subjects had significantly increased their scores on content accuracy while boys decreased the number of accurate content responses. On the measures of agreement, girls showed significantly more convergence toward the "correct" responses communicated in the written material. Boys, however, shifted from convergent responses to more varied and "riskier" (divergent) responses. Since this shift was accompanied by a drop in information retention, the author suggested that the male subjects may have been evidencing some cognitive withdrawal from considering the moral principles under discussion. The moral principles under discussion stated a condemnation of premarital sex and the confinement of sexual behavior to the "purposes of marriage and the nature of the generative act in marriage." The author's suggestion is, in our opinion, at least one of several possible explanations for the posttest sex differences. Girls may have been defensively more convergent rather than revealing on the posttest as well.

Stouwie (1972) investigated the effects of conflicting verbal instructions from one dominant adult and one nurturant, "warm" adult on the moral behavior of 112 second- and third-grade subjects from an elementary school situated in a midwestern, predominantly middle-class suburb. The research design provided for testing the following variables in alternating experimental conditions: content of instruction; order of instructions; personality characteristics of dominance and warmth; sex of experimenter; and sex of subject. Pupils were individually introduced into an interaction with two adults, one dominant and one described as warm and nurturant. After the period of interaction, the subject was given conflicting instructions from the two adults as to whether he could or couldn't play with toys displayed in the room. After the two adults left the premises, the subject's behavior with the toys was observed and recorded to ascertain whose instructions he was following. The results of this study indicated that the subjects' perception of the "dominant" and "warm" roles was better when the conditions replicated the social stereotypes of the male as dominant and the female as nurturant than when these roles were reversed by the adult models. The alternation of instructional content and the sequencing of instructions from the two models indicated that the dominant person's instructions were more often followed than those of the warm person. The subjects responded more often to the dominant person under both permissive and inhibiting instructions. The sex of the subject did not alter the response to the dominant adult. In post-experimental interviews some of the subjects indicated that they had used their own judgment as to whether or not they would play with the toys, but no information was given in this report as to how many pupils indicated they were abiding by their own standards or were inclined to believe they had.

Teacher Behavior and Pupil Expectations

Pupils' expectations of and for themselves originate in the operating self-image of each individual pupil. Such expectations reflect the self's perception of all the developed self-concepts. The pupil expects in accordance with what he thinks he is, how he thinks others see him, and how he sees himself in relationship with others. All these perceptions are based upon the previous experiences of the developing self and the expectations formed are hypotheses of the relationship between cause and effect as experienced and observed. The cognitive constructs developed and the values, attitudes, and beliefs presently held are all reflected in pupil expectations. As self-concepts are changed by experiences, expectations for the self also change, but the ease with which self-expectations change will depend upon the investment of value, and particularly self-value, inherent in each hypothesis. Verification of expectations serve as a reinforcement of perceptual accuracy and an affirmation of accurate self-knowledge, as well as the ability to perceive others and to assess circumstances. Events which contradict hypothesized outcomes are sources for self-doubt but neither the confirmation nor the contradiction of an expectancy can be arbitrarily assigned a positive or negative value without some understanding of the amount of self-value invested in the expectation. Pupils who expect to fail may find more confirmation of the self in continued failure than in unexpected success. Without experiences of repeated success it may not be prudent to undergo a process of changing self-concepts and behavioral schema. On the other hand, pupils who expect to succeed because they have previously experienced success may have more basis for revising or changing their behavioral schemas in an attempt to replicate successful circumstances and may only revise their self-concept when alternative behavioral schema have also failed to produce expected success. But if there are no opportunities for alternative approaches, failure in the face of expected success may have more negative impact upon the Performing Self than unexpected success because of greater self-involvement.

Crandall, Good, and Crandall (1964) tested the hypothesis that pupils having a high general expectancy of success would decrease their expectations of success more than pupils who had low expectations for success if high expectations were met with negative adult reaction. They also hypothesized that the reverse would be true in that pupils with low general expectancy for success would show a greater increase in their success expectations when given positive adult reaction than children having high expectations of success. To test these hypotheses, 144 eighth-grade boys were pretested to determine their levels of general expectancy for success and, on the basis of their scores, were divided into High and Low Expectancy groups along a median split. These two groups were then assigned to one of four treatment groups containing 36 subjects each. One group of High and one group of Low Expectancy subjects were given a positive adult reaction in the experimental treatment and the remaining High and Low groups were given a negative treatment. After the initial treatment conditions were experienced, each group was again subdivided following the administration of a second measure of general expectancy for success. In the second treatment phase, the subdivided groups were subjected to conditions of either an adult reaction treatment of silence or absence of any adult reaction. A third measure of general expectancy was administered following the last treatment phase. The results of this investigation supported the two major hypotheses. Children with high expectancy dropped their expectations considerably more under negative reaction from adults than subjects entering with low expectations, and children with low expectations significantly increased their expectations for success after receiving positive adult reaction. The investigators concluded that children were very sensitive to adult reactions which are not consonant with those they had come to expect from adults. The possibility that "ceiling" and "floor" effects were operating in the testing conditions was investigated, but the results of the initial analysis were not affected when these impinging effects were taken into consideration. The authors also concluded that the negative treatment used in this experiment was much more effective in reducing expectations of success than the positive adult reaction treatment was in raising expectancies. In addition, the investigators reported that when adults in this experiment were silent rather than reacting, subjects tended to interpret the silence as the reverse of the previous reactive condition to a significant degree. That is, pupils who had been given negative reactions interpreted experimenter silence as a confirmation of their performance, while pupils who had been given positive reactions interpreted the experimenter's silence as criticism or disapproval of their performance. Pupils who received no reaction and continued the assigned task without the presence of an experimenter interpreted their own performances in accordance with the condition of their previous reaction treatment. A comparison of the effects of adult silence after negative reinforcement with the effects of silence following positive reinforcement indicated that negative reinforcement was significantly stronger in its continuing effect. The fact that the presence of silent adults resulted in two completely opposite pupil interpretations of their performances and also provided different levels of reinforcement effectiveness was offered as additional support for the hypothesis that there is an active effect occurring in "nonreaction" to performances. The effect is seen as dependent upon the previous conditions of positive or negative reinforcement. The measure of general expectancy of success used in this study was reported by the authors as having been highly correlated with the subjects' report card grades, percentile ranks on general achievement tests, IQ tests, and their school "ability" grouping.

Hill and Dusek (1969) conducted a study in which they adapted the methods of the Crandall et al. investigation, and further tested the hypothesis that there is a stronger tendency for social reinforcement to raise achievement expectations of high test-anxious subjects more than low test-anxious subjects following experiences of failure. The subjects of this study were selected from a younger age group and included both sexes. An additional variation in the study is found in the use of male rather than female experimenters. A sample of 62 boys and 70 girls at the fourth-grade level were selected from a midwestern elementary school. The subjects were selected from a pool of pupils who had been given pretests on measures of test anxiety, lying, and defensiveness two weeks prior to the experimental project. Subjects at the high extremes of the lie and defensiveness scale score distributions were not included in this study. Each subject was assigned to one of three pretraining conditions--success, failure, or no evaluation. The success and failure pupils were given a puzzle to work which would permit a manipulated success or failure experience. Non-evaluation subjects had no pretesting puzzle experiences. Social reinforcement was provided in two conditions of experimenter response. The experimenter announced to the subject that he either did or didn't put the puzzle back together. After pre-training, the subjects were introduced to the experimental task and asked to give an expectancy of success score. Each pupil was asked to designate which of 16 possible rankings he felt he would achieve on this task in comparison with the other subjects. The ranking was made by circling a stick figure adjusted in height to form a bar graph. A second expectancy of achievement score was taken immediately following the experimental task. Subjects in the Social Reinforcement group did the experimental task as the experimenter made simple positive statements. Non-reinforcement subjects did their task while the experimenter remained silent. The results of this study indicated that achievement expectations increased following social reinforcement and remained stable under conditions of non-reinforcement, with girls demonstrating a greater tendency to respond to social reinforcement under these experimental conditions than boys. The investigators suggested that this apparent sex difference may be the result of an interaction between sex of experimenter-reinforcer and sex of subject. It was also suggested that the age of subjects may also be a possible source for demonstrating greater sex differences for learning and cognition.

The role of social reinforcer performed with considerable limitations by the experimenters in these two studies is a role commonly performed by classroom teachers. Teacher behaviors categorized as "approving," "criticizing," "encouraging," and "ignoring," for example, contain the elements of social reinforcement demonstrated in the investigator's role of social reinforcer. The classroom is a scene of constant performance and constant evaluation for the Performing Self of each pupil, and from these constant experiences, pupils acquire a basis for hypothesizing their expectations for success and failure. In addition to the verbal interaction that constitutes social reinforcement, pupils receive feedback on their performances through grading practices. Pickup and Anthony (1968) investigated the relationship between pupils' expected marks or grades and actual grades received in normal classroom activities. They found that pupils generally expected higher marks than they received and that the greatest discrepancy between expected mark and actual mark occurred when actual marks were very low. After this preliminary investigation the authors further examined the effects of the discrepancy between expected and actual grades on future performances. They reported that pupils of low performance who were given higher marks than they expected improved their subsequent performance, while pupils with higher performance records seemed to perform better at later tasks when they were given scores lower than expected. The authors suggested that the common practice among teachers in granting better students the "benefit of the doubt" and grading "harder" on the work of poor students might be more effective in producing better performances if such grading practices were reversed.

In another study investigating the effects of feedback intended to alter the expectancies of pupils upon the actual performance of pupils, Wlodkowski (1973) divided 230 fifth- and sixth-grade male subjects from a midwestern public school system into two expectancy categories that were randomly assigned to three types of treatment. Using a standardized math achievement test which had two levels of math ability described as "simple" and "complex" and an instrument measuring the performance expectancy of the subjects with regard to their mathematical skills, the subjects were divided into two groups. The "positive expectancy" group consisted of those pupils whose math test results showed them to be at grade level and above in performance and whose self-reported expectancies for performance on the test were either "good" or "very good." Those pupils who performed below grade level on the test and who also reported their expectations for performance on the test to be "poor" or "very poor" constituted the negative expectancy group. The subjects selected for this study were by definition those subjects whose performance was consonant with their expectations. Assuming that the standardized test represents a fairly accurate measure of ability, the subjects selected were those who demonstrated a fairly realistic self-knowledge and reasonably accurate perception of the task and their own performance abilities. They were, as the investigator described them, pupils with "valid expectations." To reinforce these pupils in their expectations, the test papers were returned to them with the number of correct answers indicated along with a comment from the experimenters corresponding with the appropriate reported pupil expectancy ranging from "very poor" to "very good." The investigator who had been introduced into the school situation as a special math teacher then gave the subjects a bogus test and announced that he would evaluate the test to ascertain each pupil's real math ability. Prior to the administration of the posttest, which was an equivalent to the standardized pretest, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of three treatment groups. Presumably using the information acquired from the bogus test, the investigator informed the Supportive group that he expected their performance on the next test to be average or above grade level. Subjects in the Contra-Supportive group were told that the investigator expected below-grade-level performance on their next test and the control group were simply told that their test papers had not yet been evaluated. The investigator satisfied himself that the pupils had accepted his evaluations as valid before including them in the reported study. From the analysis of pre- to posttest gain scores with expectancy category and treatment, the investigator concluded that no functional combination of category and treatment related to the significant improvement of pupil performances had been found. However, when the investigator examined the posttest performances of the two groups who had actually received dissonant feedback, he found that a statistically significant proportion of those subjects had increased their performance in comparison with the other treatment groups. Initially, all the subjects of this study had been reinforced in their performance expectations by the scores and comments of the pretest. In addition, pupils of low ability and low expectation assigned to counter-supportive treatment and pupils of high ability and high expectations assigned to supportive treatment were once again reinforced in their expectations. It might even be suggested, on the basis of research reported in this section, that the control pupils who received the initial pretest reinforcement and no subsequent conflicting feedback were also experiencing some further reinforcement. The low-ability, low-expectancy group who were given the conflicting supportive treatment and the high-ability, high-expectancy group who were given the contra-supportive treatment demonstrated a response to the treatment conditions by an increase in the proportion of pupils who improved their performance on the test components which were commensurate with their actual abilities. With supportive treatment, more low-ability pupils increased their test performance on the simple component of the test, while more pupils with high ability who had been told they were not expected to achieve up to grade level increased their performance on the complex test component. However, only the proportion of pupils increasing their performance under these two treatment conditions was significant and not the actual gains made in performance. There are no measures to indicate that these pupils changed their expectancies as a result of the treatment. We can infer that the high-ability groups were motivated to perform at an increased level by the contradiction of their perceptual accuracy and that the low-ability group was equally motivated to increase their performance level by a contradiction to their self-expectations in this one instance.

The area of discrepancy that exists between a pupil's ability as indicated by his level of skill measured on standardized achievement tests and the pupil's academic potential measured by aptitude and IQ tests establishes the limits within which one can reasonably expect any positive change in pupil performance. Since only pupils who gave an accurate assessment of their performance related to their actual abilities in mathematics were included in this study, the area of discrepancy between performance and ability could well have been reduced beyond any possibility for registering a significant gain in test performance. If the study had included pupils with broad discrepancies between ability and performance, the possibility of demonstrating significant gains by treatment effects might have been better accommodated. We suspect that both a floor and ceiling effect were built into the experimental design.

Questions should also be raised with regard to the inferences drawn as to the motivational effects of contradicting what are quite obviously realistic pupil expectations. How long would such contradictions remain performance motivators? Would frequent and/or persistent use of such contradictions lead to a distortion in self-perception and result in unrealistic expectations? Both the limitations of the male sample and the lack of significant performance gains make the results of this study ungeneralizeable, but in conjunction with the other studies reported in this section, it does offer a basis for further investigation.

Entwisle and Webster (1973) reported the extension of a previous study in which they had successfully increased pupil expectations measured by the frequency of volunteering behavior to include factors of age, sex, race, locus of residence, and socioeconomic status. None of the added factors significantly influenced the successful results of the experimental treatment and the investigators concluded that the procedures they had developed for increasing pupil expectations for success could be considered as generally applicable to all classroom situations. The experimental treatment was based on the assumption derived from theory that pupil hand raising is a behavioral indication of high pupil expectation, and in the preliminary studies each subject's expectation level was measured by his rate of acceptance of opportunities to participate through hand raising. For phase one of the experiment, children were divided into groups of 4 and were told that their task, in competition with other groups, was to create the "best" story by completing a story skeleton comprised of 12 sentences, filling in the blank provided in each sentence. The first phase required the invention of three such stories, during which the experimenter recorded the number of times each child raised his hand, and called upon all volunteers equally, without offering any comment on the pupils' contribution. In the second phase, one experimental subject completed the story by himself, with the investigator providing constant positive evaluation of each word contributed. The other children of the group were sent to another room to play games or listen to a story. Children who were not subjects in the second phase of individual story completion comprised the control group. In the final phase of the study the original groups were reassembled and different investigators were assigned to the groups to prevent unequal treatment of the experimental child, and the task of the first phase was repeated. The results showed that experimental children significantly increased their hand raising behavior between phase one and phase three when compared to the control group. In a further extension of the study, one control child was also given the opportunity to complete a story by himself in the presence of an investigator, but was not given a positive evaluation for each of the words he contributed. These control subjects did not differ in their subsequent hand raising behavior from that of the control group, and the experimental subjects of the second phase of this extension of the study again significantly increased their hand raising behavior in comparison with both types of controls. The investigators did report that, in some instances, experimental subjects did not increase their hand raising behavior after their special individual treatment. As a possible explanation of this phenomenon, the authors suggested that perhaps all pupils do not have the same task orientation, particularly with respect to academic tasks. Whereas the investigators in this study felt that there were similarities between the circumstances and task performed in this experiment and the tasks presented and supervised by classroom teachers, it might be well to point out that although the investigators presented the task as being in competition for the "best" story, no such evaluation was forthcoming. In a regular classroom, teachers are usually reminded of any such omission, especially if the honor of winning "best" of anything is at stake. Although this procedure of unqualified acceptance and praise for each word contributed might be constructive when applied to some creative composition tasks, it would hardly be appropriate for learning that situations require convergent responses or formative evaluation. The experimental treatment devised for this study could have been described as a procedure for increasing risk-taking behavior as measured by the frequency of hand raising, or as a procedure for increasing pupil self-confidence, as measured by the frequency of hand raising behavior, or even as a procedure for increasing pupil self-esteem, as measured by the frequency of hand raising behavior, rather than as a procedure for increasing pupil expectation, and above all, it could be characterized as a procedure that demonstrates the positive effects of approval on pupil performance.

The role of the teacher in the classroom as a social reinforcer is much more elaborate than the roles research investigators play as social reinforcers. Teachers have a role in the planning and presentation of cognitive information, as well as supervising skill acquisition. They have responsibilities for guiding and evaluating the performance of each pupil. Research evidence that investigators, in their limited role, show an effect on pupil expectations suggests that the influence of teacher behavior on pupil expectations must be even more highly effective and more persistent.

Although the results reported in these studies of pupil expectation are not generalizeable to the pupil population, except where noted, the weight of the evidence that positive social reinforcement has an elevating effect on pupil expectations is constant across the variety of sample populations and research conditions. But simply raising pupil expectations is not a legitimate end in itself for educators as it is for researchers. We have taken particular note of the finding by Crandall et al., that the negative treatment which comprised unsupportive feedback to performing ninth-grade male pupils was more effective in reducing pupil expectations for performance success than the positive reinforcement was in raising expectations for success. In the same study it is observed that pupils who are positively reinforced by investigator comment are then apt to construe investigator silence as disapproval. How do these findings relate to the classroom situation where some pupils receive a great deal of criticism while others receive praise and others generally receive neither? In the study by Meichenbaum, Bowers and Ross (1969) it was found that the teacher who reduced the amount of criticism given experimental subjects produced more positive change in academic performance. This might be an instance where silence may have been converted into, if not praise, at least approval because the sample consisted of delinquent girls. But what of the pupil in the classroom who perceives that the teacher administers approval by positive comment to others, but is constantly ignored himself? Does this pupil construe the silence toward him as criticism? Hill and Dusek (1969) noted that there were sex differences in the alteration of expectations, with girls responding more significantly to social reinforcement. Is the variable involved actually one of changed expectations and sex difference, or is it a pupil characteristic for conforming behavior? If the sex difference is linked to conforming behavior through culture, can any procedure raise or change culturally influenced expectations? The Wlodkowski (1973) study draws attention to the problems of raising expectations without reference to acquired skills and abilities and rather obliquely points to the need for helping children establish realistic expectations. Pickup and Anthony (1968) have reported that the pupils in their sample, particularly those of low ability, had a tendency toward inflated expectations. And, while dissonant feedback with regard to performance expectations might be an effective way of motivating high-ability and performance pupils toward even greater achievement, the question of the efficacy of this practice over a long period of time should be examined much more thoroughly. There are obviously many pupils in the classroom whose abilities do not match their performances and whose performances may receive dissonant feedback from teachers. Is the variable involved here one of ability to perform, or one of locus of control and self-direction without regard to IQ, aptitude, or achievement? The Entwistle et al. (1970) study, while again repeating the success of positive social reinforcement, focuses attention on the limitations this practice may have in the actual classroom.

In the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, we have described the psychological construct of Self-Image as the sense of self as an integrated, functioning self-entity with a past, present, and future image. In the behavioral dialogue of the classroom, the developing self encounters psychological experiences that affect the Self-Image by reinforcing or revising the self's perception of his past, confirming or contradicting his perception of his present, and affirming or altering his perception of his future.

Theoretically, as a significant or salient other in the pupil's behavioral dialogue, the teacher's interpretations and reflections of the developing self and his role constitute an important part of the psychological experiences that affect each pupil's Self-Image. The teacher behaviors described in the study reported by Staines (1958) represent an almost ideal model of those teacher behaviors that would operationalize the theory that the teacher is a significant or salient other who performs the functions of reflection and interpretation in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom. In testing the second hypothesis of his study, which stated that teachers can teach toward achieving both academic goals and goals of desired change in pupil self-image, Staines described the experimental teacher as having an attitude toward pupils and a teaching style that would have a positive effect on pupil self-image. The experimental teacher, using his ratings of pupils on self-construct measures and pupils' ratings of themselves on these same measures set individual self-image improvement goals for each pupil. According to the description the teacher also planned methods of academic instruction and curriculum to provide the necessary events through which pupils could be helped to achieve the self-image goals, an example of a teacher's expertise in assessment being used as a diagnostic and therapeutic tool. The teacher is further described as having affirmed each pupil as a worthy, achieving class member, and as having attended to the status needs of each pupil. The teacher interpreted the roles of the pupils in this behavioral dialogue as participants who could plan, make decisions, and set goals for their own learning tasks and who could also implement standards and values in the process of monitoring and evaluating their progress in achieving their goals. In addition to the expertise exercised in planning instructional methods, the teacher's role included evaluating pupil performances and products and giving feedback that contained detailed observations and judgments. This process should have provided the appropriate cognitive content from which each pupil could acquire the concepts and goal-directed behaviors necessary to achieve his goals. Pupils were also encouraged to acquire more realistic and suitable goals so achievement would enhance their self-images. As the reader will recall, the results of this study which lasted for twelve weeks indicated a highly significant difference between the experimental and control pupil subjects on two dimensions that were interpreted by the investigator as representing a gain in "psychological security." These dimensions might also be interpreted as indicating a move toward less distorted and more realistic self-perception, since the experimental pupils were able to assess themselves in less extreme terms and to describe the "boundaries" of self with more certainty. However, as much as we would like to wholeheartedly accept the investigator's interpretation of psychological security or press the interpretation even further into our own value system and find more realistic self-perception. we need to consider the results of this study in the light of other research. The two dimensions, Differentiation and Certainty, were also the source for differences found between the experimental and control subjects of the Chadwick (1966) study. In the Chadwick study, the experimental teachers had been trained to use positive commenting behaviors in their interactions with pupils. This would seem to corroborate the relationship of the teacher behavior variable common to both studies, positive commenting, with the discriminating dimensions common to both studies, Differentiation and Certainty. These two dimensions reflect response patterns of self-description in the two experimental samples, which suggests to us that we might consider an alternative interpretation of these results. If we consider also that Gordon and Wood (1963) found indications that teachers' perceptual distortions of pupils were reflected in broader perceptual distortions in the same direction on pupils' self-reports it may be that teachers who purposely used positive commenting would tend to refrain from making negative and exaggerated pupil-referenced comments. Since the experimental pupils of both the Staines and Chadwick studies demonstrated a move toward the moderate range of self-reported self-assessment measures, we could infer that these pupils were receiving more accurate and positive self-reflections in the commenting behaviors of their teachers. Or, alternatively, we could infer that these pupils were simply reflecting the verbal patterns modeled by their teachers. If the experimental teachers in these two studies had been made more aware of pupil self-image as a part of their training for the study, there is also a possibility that self-concept terms were more often used and more often defined in daily classroom interaction. The Certainty dimension may reflect pupil awareness of terms and definitions related to the verbal modeling of the teacher rather than changes in self-perception, self-image, or conditions of psychological security and have demonstrated a cognitive rather than affective gain or even both.

If objectives in the affective domain are to be successfully achieved and measured, they must be related to measurable and observable pupil performances. If teachers are to design and plan classroom events to provide the opportunities through which pupils can achieve positive changes in their self-image, the effectiveness of the teacher's program should be under constant evaluation so that it can either be modified in progress or documented to provide information for formulating new programs. Observed and recorded changes in pupil behavior that indicate increased participation, increased and more relevant contributions, more self-initiated goal-directed activity, increased productivity, and evidence of constructive self-criticism or self-evaluation could be interpreted as a change in the Performing Self. Whether the behavior observed was directed toward academic or social goals, it could, by operating definition, become evidence of a positive change in pupil self-perception seen through the Performing Self and as such could be considered to be evidence of a changed Self-Image.

The research studies investigating the use of planned behavior modification programs in the school situation demonstrate the use of low inference measures in ascertaining the effects of planned treatments. They also show the advantages of setting goals that can be operationally defined by behaviors so that behavioral change can be measured. The evidence of the studies cited in this chapter suggests that where pupils have clear concepts of desired behavior and goals, the teacher's role is one of helping the pupil to identify and acquire the goal-related skills and goal-directed behaviors. In the teacher's role of advisor, guide, and evaluator, the teacher can also help pupils set goals appropriate to their level of achievement. Where the desired behavioral goals, and therefore the value for the goals, are those of the teacher or the society, the teacher's role is to communicate the values and standards clearly and unambiguously to the pupils and to help pupils acquire and implement standards. In order to help pupils acquire a value for prescribed goals, teachers must help pupils associate the prescribed goals with required behaviors and skills, and achievement of goals with a positive impact on significant others and the environment.

The acquisition of skills and behaviors that gain approval from others can be valued simply for the approval they insure or for the role they play in helping pupils achieve desired goals. Achieving a positive impact on significant others and the environment may help pupils of external or internal locus of control orientations to move toward role satisfaction, confidence, self-direction, and independence. The teacher's role is to reflect the positive impact of pupil performances and to organize the events of the classroom and the learning experience to create an arena in which pupils can test and exercise their acquired skills and behaviors in psychological safety. For pupils with an internal locus of control orientation, experiences that allow them to test their abilities and explore and expand their performances reinforce their self-image as achieving individuals with a positive impact upon their environment. For pupils of both internal and external locus of control orientations, the experiences provided in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom can offer reinforcement, restructuring, and reinterpretation of the developing self, with an opportunity to reassess the self's power to control and direct his own behaviors toward positive impact and improved self-image.

Moral values, standards, and behaviors are acquired by the same processes through which other prescriptive social and academic behaviors are acquired by each developing self. The paucity of research in school situations and with teacher and pupil populations is not a reflection of our society's deficit of moral standards and values, but rather a reflection of the diversity of moral systems our society can tolerate. Perhaps there is also a tendency among adults to view young people, and particularly school children, as not quite acceptable or legitimate subject populations for investigation into moral behaviors and standards since the results are usually less than positive reflections of the adults who teach and model standards and values of each community. Young children are rarely expected to be good representatives of the society's moral systems. However, investigations into the educational institution's role as a purveyor of moral values, standards, and behaviors such as that conducted by Fischer's (1970) study of cheating on exams would provide a research base for formulating new educational programs for teaching and reinforcing the moral values and standards of the institution and the classroom, apart from the general society. The pupil's social behaviors in accordance with school rules and regulations are a legitimate concern of the school and an appropriate concern for pupils at every grade level. The teacher's role, whatever the moral objective may be, is again, to clearly communicate and interpret the moral values and standards of the school and to identify and associate the behaviors that can be acquired and performed by pupils to achieve those goals. The teacher can, by the process of evaluative feedback and constructive criticism, help pupils differentiate appropriate and inappropriate behaviors that relate to the school situation. By providing opportunities and circumstances that allow for safe testing and evaluating of moral values and standards, teachers can help pupils develop and exercise their capacities for making moral judgments.

The Self-Image of the pupil is probably most evident in those behaviors that express his expectations of himself and of others. The research reported in this chapter on pupil expectations indicates that it is possible to raise pupil expectations. But it also indicates that raising pupil expectations as a means of changing pupil self-image is only valid where pupil expectations can be met by successful pupil performance and realistic responses from others that contribute to accurate self-perception. In some instances, lowering pupil expectations could well be the means of providing the pupil with psychological experiences that would bring about a more positive self-image. The teacher's role as an interpreter and reflector of the developing self and his performances and products is essential to the pupil's acquisition of realistic self-expectations and a realistic ideal self included in a positive and realistic Self-Image whatever his cultural milieu may be.

When teachers evaluate pupils as able to work with a minimum of supervision, they are describing pupils who have acquired a positive self-image in the school situation. These pupils have a sense of acceptance and a sense of trust, a sense of self-identity and a sense of positive self-esteem. They can view themselves as worthwhile, achieving performers with a positive impact upon their environment. Whatever their grade level or potential for academic achievement, all pupils are entitled to a positive and realistic self-image as a product of their educational experience.

Chapter VIII References

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CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters we have considered selected research related to teacher behaviors and the self-concepts of pupils in the light of our conceptual framework. This framework defined the interaction between teachers and pupils as a behavioral dialogue, and organized the self-concept into a schema of five psychological constructs of the self. In this concluding chapter we explore the possibilities of applying the conceptual framework and the organized schema of psychological constructs of Self to the development of research instruments and the design of research studies.

The conceptual framework forms a context for interpreting the interaction between teachers and pupils by defining this interaction as a behavioral dialogue between the teacher, the pupil, and the school environment. In the context of the behavioral dialogue the teacher is defined as a significant or salient other who interprets the events, defines the roles of both teacher and pupil, responds evaluatively to the pupil's performance and products, and reflects an image of the pupil. The environment is defined as both a physical and psychological arena that provides opportunities for exploration and experience. From interaction with the environment as well as with the significant other, the pupil receives a reflection of his image and a perception of his impact upon the environment. The pupil is defined as a developing self who is engaged in maintaining, revising, and acquiring a psychological concept of "self" from the psychological experiences occurring in his behavioral dialogues. A majority of the psychological experiences from which the concepts of self derive occur as reflections of and responses to the developing self made by significant others and the environment.

The psychological concept of self is defined as a composite of psychological constructs described as a sense of Bodily Self, Self-Identity, Self-Esteem, Self-Extension, and Self-Image. In our process definitions of these constructs we have suggested that certain variables may be more emphatically related to one sense of self than another, although every experience must be understood as affecting the total person in accordance with the person's perception and value of the event. For example, the extent and intensity of a pupil's competitive behavior is seen as more emphatically related to the sense of Self-Extension while the pupil's response to winning or losing a competition is seen as more emphatically related to the sense of Self-Esteem.

The behavioral dialogue of each pupil in the classroom is seen as highly individualistic and idiosyncratic because it represents the individual pupil's experiences with "my" teacher in "my" classroom in the course of "my" education. The extent to which the pupil perceives the relationship as personal indicates the importance of the psychological events of the dialogue regardless of whether they are positively or negatively perceived by the pupil.

The observed teacher-pupil ratio may be one teacher to eight or twenty-eight pupils, but for the pupil the behaviorally experienced ratio is one to one.

The crucial question for each pupil in the behavioral dialogue is "How am I being perceived?" The crucial answer lies in the pupil's perception of his reflected self-image and his perception of his impact upon the significant others and the environment. But these perceptions of the reflected self, the response to self, and the self's impact upon the environment are not only derived from direct, personal, interaction. They are also derived from the whole spectrum of interactive events occurring in the school situation. The teacher's role as a significant or salient other and controller of the classroom environment gives him the responsibility for interpreting the role of the pupil in the dialogue and makes him responsible for the nature of the self-image reflected to the pupil during the interaction.

How the teacher perceives his role and how he interprets the pupil's role in the behavioral dialogue influences the teacher's preparations for teaching as well as his behavior in the classroom. The teacher's role as an interpreter, reflecter, responder, and controller of the classroom dialogue is embedded in the interaction of the classroom. The question is never whether or not the teacher wishes to function in these roles, these functions are performed whether or not the teacher is aware of them and consciously plans to perform them. The two classroom dialogues which follow will serve as a basis for demonstrating how these functions of the teacher are embedded in the classroom dialogue and will also serve to demonstrate the usefulness of the conceptual framework and its organized schema of self-constructs to classroom teachers and researchers.

Both of these classroom dialogues take place in lower elementary classrooms in schools situated in a lower socioeconomic and urban setting. The lesson material in both dialogues has been planned as an introduction to a unit on nutrition and health.

Classroom Dialogue No. 1

In this first dialgoue, the teacher has a small group of eight pupils in an open classroom environment. The room is very large with many windows and thick carpeting and other pupils are grouped with their teachers in other areas of the room. The eight pupils of this group are seated on the floor in a semi-circle around the teacher. The teacher is seated on a low chair with several large posters balanced against her.

Teacher: Who knows what this is? (Holds up a large poster showing a glass of milk, a glass or orange juice, a bowl of cereal with fruit, a plate of bacon and eggs, and another plate with two pieces of toast. These items have been cut from magazines and pasted on the larger poster board.)

Pupils: (Enthusiastically) Food! Milk! Bread! A fried-egg, hummm, I love eggs! I don't, I hate eggs! I'd eat the meat up! That looks good!

Teacher: Yes, this is food . . . milk and eggs and cereal . . . this is a picture of a "Breakfast." All of these things are foods that are good for us and help us grow. They give us strong bones, good teeth and good muscles. They give us the energy to do good work in school, too. Now, I have another picture here that shows us where all these things come from. Let's see if we can find something in this picture (holds up another poster showing a cow, a chicken, a pig, an orange, and a field of wheat) that shows where these things (points to breakfast picture) come from. Where does the milk come from?

Pupil: Milk comes from cows.

Teacher: That's right. Milk comes from a cow. (Points to the cow on the picture.)

Pupil: Is that a cow? It doesn't look like the cows that are on TV.

Pupil: This is a different cow. This cow is white and black. Cowboys don't have cows like that, they have different cows don't they Miss Summer?

Teacher: Well, no--this is called a dairy cow and these cows are kept by farmers. These cows are for milk, the cows you usually see on TV are for meat.

Pupil: And there's different kinds of milk, too, isn't there?

Teacher: Yes, of course. Other animals give milk too, like goats.

Pupil: And some milk is dry and some milk is wet. You can add water to dry milk or wet milk to make it go farther. Is it wet or dry from cows?

Teacher: Well, all milk is wet when it comes from the animals. The farmer sells it to a dairy company and they take it and put it in bottles. Or they can take some of ~~the~~ water out and put it in cans, or they can take all of the water out and put what is left into boxes. Then you just add water to it to make it milk to drink or use for cooking. Now, let's go on. Where do eggs come from?

Pupils: Chickens! There's the chicken right there. (One pupil leans forward and taps the chicken on the poster.) My grandpa has chickens, he has four chickens.

Teacher: All right. Now the bacon, where does the bacon come from?

Pupil: I know where the orange juice comes from--see, there it is, a whole orange.

Teacher: Yes, that's where the orange juice comes from but right now we're talking about the bacon. Where does the bacon come from?

Pupil: It's the pig because it's meat. I know that.

Pupil: The pig and the cow eat the grass. (Points to the field of wheat.)

Teacher: Yes, we get bacon from pigs, and that leaves us the wheat, here (pointing to the field of wheat). What two things in our breakfast come from wheat? There are two--

Pupils: It's the bread!

Teacher: What else?

Pupil: We didn't find out where the stuff in the bowl came from.

Teacher: The "stuff" in the bowl is breakfast cereal. Don't you eat cereal for breakfast, like rice crispies or corn kix?

Pupil: I eat sugar crisps right out of the box all the time.

Pupil: We have oatmeal sometimes.

Pupil: I eat toast all the time. I have a piece of toast and a cup of coffee with milk in it and sugar.

Pupil: Sometimes I eat breakfast and sometimes I don't.

Pupil: I never eat breakfast.

Teacher: But you should eat breakfast. We all should. You shouldn't come to school on an empty stomach. You can eat breakfast here at school if you don't eat it at home, you know.

Pupil: I don't like to eat breakfast. Sometimes I drink a coke. I like cokes.

Pupil: If my mama is up, she gets me a bowl of puff rice. My mama buys puff rice. If she works at night, though, she don't get up and me and my sister, we like to fool around more so we don't eat or we'll be late.

Pupil: We eat our own stuff, we don't eat stuff on that picture.

Teacher: Well, the idea is to eat these things because they make you healthy. Now we're going to look at a poster that shows the food groups and you'll see which groups these breakfast foods come from--

Pupil: My father is sick. He doesn't have hardly any teeth, either.

Pupil: You should see my mama! She has big black spots on all her teeth and they hurt. She soaks everything in her coffee--boy is that ever sloppy looking, ugh!

Teacher: That's enough, Roberto, let's look at our food groups now and tomorrow we'll have pictures of lunch and supper.

In subsequent lesson periods the teacher continues to use posters she has prepared showing model lunch and supper meals with auxiliary posters showing the sources of the selected foods. In the last two weeks of the unit pupils work with the teacher preparing another set of posters displaying model meals and the food sources. During the preparation of these six posters the teacher has opportunities to make choices from the pupils' cutouts and to comment positively and negatively on the cutting and pasting skills of individual pupils. In the last week of the unit, pupils review the work with the teacher using the posters as stimulus for naming the food group to which the food belongs or finding an appropriate member of a particular food group. On the last day the teacher gives a test on the unit and finds that all pupils have successfully met the criteria of naming the four food groups, giving representative foods, food sources, and the emphasized benefits.

Classroom Dialogue No. 2

The second classroom dialogue occurs in a contained classroom in a very old building with desks in rows and a half circle of chairs at the front of the room. The pupils are seated at their desks and the teacher is standing at the front of the room with several large posters on the desk beside her.

Teacher: (Holding up a poster with pictures of children, White, Black, Oriental, Chicano, and Indian, all very sad faced and thin which have been cut from magazines and newspaper advertisements for world-wide child care hunger and poverty programs.) I want to show you some pictures of some children who are all having the same problem. Why do you think they look so thin and sad?

Pupils: They're poor! They don't have clothes! They don't get to eat! They lost their mama!

Teacher: I think you are probably all right. I thought they were probably orphans,too, and I thought they looked very hungry. So I cut these pictures out for us and left a space here under each picture so we could give each one a name. Then I thought we'd learn about what foods we should feed them to make them healthy and happy again. We will be like doctors. Of course, we'll have to find out what foods they should have and where we can get those foods. But first, we have to have names for our children. The girls can give their favorite girl's name and the boys can give their favorite boy's name. Write them on a piece of paper, just spell them the best you can and we'll put the names in these two boxes. We'll have one boy and one girl draw out four names so we can name the four boys and girls in our pictures.

(Pupils proceed to write names. The teacher collects the names in the two boxes. Two pupils are selected to come up and draw the names from the box for the eight pictures. Teacher takes the eight names drawn and puts them in one of the boxes.)

Teacher: Now that we have the names, we'll divide into eight groups. I'll mix these names together in this box and one person from each group can draw out a name. If it's a boy's name, this boy marked No. 1 (pointing to the poster picture) will be your group's boy. If it's a girl's name, this girl marked No. 1 will be your girl. That's the way it works for parents when they have children, isn't it? They don't know whether they'll get a boy or a girl. Let's divide up now, three people to a group. We'll count out up to eight and then start over. Everyone with the same number will be in one group. (Pupils count out and find their group members.)

Teacher: Now we'll draw the names. Let's have group 1 come up and draw. (Pupils from group 1 come up and draw a name from the box.) Pupils in the class are watching and commenting. "I hope we get a girl!" "I want a boy!" "Can we trade if we want to?"

Teacher: My goodness, you do sound like parents! Some parents say "I hope we have a girl, or I hope we have a boy." But all of them hope their babies will be healthy and they love and keep whatever they get. We'll do the same.

(Children finish drawing names and placing them under the pictures on the poster.)

Teacher: Now, parents and doctors, here is a chart that has four names and four columns. These are the groups of foods that we will need for our children. I'm going to ask one person from each group to name something he eats for breakfast, for lunch here at school, or for supper at night. I'll put the name in the column it belongs in--it might even go in two columns--and that will be all we can do today. Tomorrow we'll start to learn what good things the food we have listed in the first column will do for our children when they eat it, and we'll look for more foods to put in the column we are working with. Then we'll cut out pictures in these magazines in the corner, and you can bring some from home too if you like, and we'll make meals for our children out of these pictures. Now, let's start with Alberto's family. What is one food you have to eat, this will include things to drink, too.

Pupil: Beans, we have beans a lot.

(Teacher writes food names in the columns on the poster.)

Pupil: Corn bread--I just love it.

Pupil: Pancakes. Let's put pancakes.

(Teacher continues to write the food names under columns headed "Dairy Food, Meats, Vegetables and Fruits, and

Cereals," placing each food as it is given by the pupils. She suggests that they add a fifth column for "Snacks and Coke and Candy" when they are named so that they can learn more about them and what they will do for the "children" at a later time.)

In the next lesson period pupils are given a "Health Diet" guide sheet for use in assembling meals from magazine pictures. Each group prepares three meals and one snack poster in each week of the unit. Preparation of meals includes identifying food groups, sources, and benefits. Part of each period is reserved for group presentation of a meal poster and the nutrition information. Errors are discussed by the pupils and resolved by the teacher as the consulting nutrition expert. In the last week of the unit, each group selects a set of three meal and snack posters for display along with a picture of a child representing the happy, healthy state their "child" has now achieved. On the last day of the unit, the pupils receive an evaluative task to "accredit" their nutrition knowledge and are asked to report any changes they have made in their own eating habits. The teacher finds that the pupils have successfully met the criteria of naming the four food groups, giving representative foods, four sources, and the emphasized benefits. In returning the test papers the teacher suggests that the pupils now use their acquired knowledge for checking school lunch menus and selecting their own foods at lunchtime.

In order to compare the possible effects of these two teachers' behaviors on the self-concepts of their pupils we must identify differences in the answers to each pupil's crucial question, "How am I being perceived by my teacher?" These differences can be identified by examining each teacher's interpretive and pupil-reflecting behaviors provided in the conceptual framework.

The answer to the pupil's crucial question begins with the teacher's function as a significant or salient other who interprets the roles and events of the behavioral dialogue and controls its environment. The teacher's interpretations are influenced by his general concepts of the teacher-pupil roles and by his perception of himself as a teacher and his perceptions of individual pupils and groups of pupils. As we have already discussed, the implementation of teacher interpretation and perception begins with the preparation of lesson plans and the selection of instructional methods and classroom activities. Teachers may carefully plan different learning objectives appropriate to the achieving levels of different pupils and plan different activities as methods for achieving planned objectives without realizing that the methods or activities planned for different groups may be consistently reflecting the teacher's preference for contacting and interacting with one group while avoiding or limiting interaction with another.

The dialogues we have presented do not deal with these teachers' perceptions and interpretations of individual pupils nor with pupil needs differentiated by achievement levels. The comparison of these two dialogues does illustrate, however, differences arising from different concepts of the pupils' role in the behavioral dialogue of the classroom.

The teacher in Dialogue No. 1 has planned the pupil's role to be highly dependent upon the teacher. The teacher is the sole source of all approval and disapproval. Pupil activities have been limited to the performance of conforming behaviors and to highly convergent thinking.

In Dialogue No. 2 the teacher has interpreted the pupil role as one that requires considerable pupil participation and contribution. The pupil's role includes limited autonomy that helps create the content of the lesson. Pupils were perceived as able to carry out their part of the classroom dialogue supported by the structure of the task and the use of guidelines rather than constant teacher supervision.

An analysis of the dialogues in these two classrooms using the organized schema of psychological constructs as the analytical tool identifies differences in the interactive behaviors of teachers that reflect the teacher's perception of the pupil. But just as importantly, an analysis of the events in the classroom on these same dimensions identifies psychological experiences relevant to self-concept development that result from the teacher's use of lesson content and methodologies.

An analysis of the behavioral dialogues of these two classrooms using the self-constructs as we have defined them results in the following differences.

Bodily Self

Teacher No. 1 criticized one pupil's eating habits, i.e., going without breakfast, but did not criticize other pupils' poor habits (not that she should, but one child brought down general criticism on himself and others who may have shared his habit.) As we have already noted, this teacher did not take the background of her pupils into consideration in preparing the lesson.

Teacher No. 2 took the pupils' background into consideration when preparing the lesson. She asked the pupils to use their interpretation of physical appearance in assessing the problem of the "children." She used pictures of children with different ethnic backgrounds and physical characteristics but modeled the same attitude toward each pictured "child." She did not differentiate the nurturant, caring, parental role by sex, nor did the doctors' role receive any sex designation.

Self Identity

Teacher No. 1 reflected the pupils in accordance with her interpretation of the pupil's role and only provided reinforcement for pupil identity as a pupil.

Teacher No. 2 gave each pupil two simulated role identifications and provided a relationship between the roles and cognitive content. By having pupils give presentations she provided the opportunity for communication to the whole group and experience in communicating with each other by having the pupils work in triads. Through the use of the "children" she gave a model for attitudes toward others and self-in-relation to others.

Self-Esteem

Teacher No. 1 provided opportunities for experiencing positive self-esteem only through her approval of pupil responses and pupil performances.

Teacher No. 2 provided experiences for increasing positive self-esteem by giving pupils three sources of approval: (1) the group's self-approval of their own work, selecting their best for display, (2) approval from other pupils in being selected as the group representative, (3) approval from the teacher through the standards "accrediting" the pupil's performance.

Self-Extension

Teacher No. 1 provided each pupil with a task and by her close association and proximity to the pupils may have conveyed a feeling of psychological safety. There is also a possibility, however, that the impersonal presentation of the content and the limited sources of approval may have encouraged competition for teacher attention which could be threatening to some of the pupils. Teacher No. 1 also limited the pupils' use of acquired skills and the development of constructs for social behaviors. Under the strict supervision of the teacher, however, pupils in this classroom would make fewer errors in selecting and categorizing food items and food sources. With the teacher's repeated modeling of the sorting process, pupils acquired the concepts of the categories and increased their participation in the sorting process.

Teacher No. 2 provided small groups in which pupils could work cooperatively and also provided an arena in which students selected as representatives could participate and contribute through their presentations. Since the pupil was acting in the capacity of a representative, other students in the group could share in the success of the presentation and play a supportive role in their representative's performance. Pupils were not placed in direct competition with each other for the teacher's attention or approval of their work. There was an opportunity in the small group situations for a dominant pupil to attempt dominance in the selection of food pictures and the role of representative. However, working in triads offers the other members of the group a means of controlling one member's attempts to dominate. The final display of prepared meals represented the pupils' choices of their best work, and while they may have engaged in comparisons of the work on display, no direct judging was done by the teacher. These pupils were given the opportunity to work on their own initiative within the structure of the task and with the use of standards other than those of the teacher. Errors that appeared were group errors and were handled by both teachers and pupils in consultation and with reference to the guidelines.

Self-Image

In Dialogue No. 1 pupils were reinforced in their image of themselves as dependent pupils with limited and conditional positive impact upon their environment through teacher-approved performances of conforming behavior and the exercise of acquired skills in accordance with standards implemented by the teacher.

Pupils in Dialogue No. 2 were given the opportunity to perceive themselves in several roles, as pupils, as members of the group, as representatives, as parents, as nutritionists or "doctors," and as individuals with impact on their environment. They were encouraged to identify their performances as parents and doctors with an ideal positive outcome through the process of selecting a picture of a happy, healthy child in the "before" and "after" representations of their "child." They were encouraged to perceive the unit information as a personal value and as a source of new skills and standards which would increase their autonomy. The teacher suggested that they apply these new skills in the lunchroom and through the evaluative questions on the unit test, gave an indirect suggestion for the further application of the new skills. Pupils in this dialogue were provided with an environment that reflected them as appropriately independent, participating, contributing, and worthwhile members of this small society with a positive impact upon their environment. They were given the opportunity to relate to future and ideal images of the self and to past images of the self through the teacher's emphatic interpretation of parental acceptance.

The psychological constructs of self as we have defined them would be applicable as references to be used in examining both teacher and pupil behaviors in all classroom dialogues. However, there are differences in academic subject content which influence, to some extent, the variety of behaviors and experiences that can be planned to give pupils psychological experiences from which to derive positive constructs of the self. In the light of our conceptual framework, we have concluded that in every behavioral dialogue of the classroom, the teacher is provided with opportunities for creating experiences for the pupil's acquisition and reinforcement of positive constructs of the self.

We would also like to suggest that researchers who plan to investigate teacher behaviors and pupil self-concept in the classroom might find it profitable to perceive the research situation in the context of the behavioral dialogue of the classroom and the five concepts of self. We would suggest further that investigators who plan to be interacting with pupils in the course of their study might use this conceptual framework as a guide in designing and implementing their interacting roles.

There is, of course, the problem of designing instruments that would be sensitive to the affective content of the behavioral dialogue along the dimensions we have described. Although we can hypothesize that the teacher in Dialogue No. 2 would have a more positive effect in promoting positive self-concepts in her pupils than Teacher No. 1, the difficulties of designing instruments sensitive to pupil self-concept constructs and considerably less inferential than self-reporting instruments still remain.

There is also the additional question of whether research on the relationship of teacher behaviors and pupil self-concept is worth doing. At the present time, the primary purpose for investigating the relationship of teacher behaviors and pupil self-concept is to identify those teacher behaviors that enhance or inhibit pupil academic achievement. The rationale for investigation appears at present to be based upon a process of syllogistic reasoning that provides three hypotheses for research:

1. Pupil self-concept affects pupil learning behavior.
2. Teacher behavior affects pupil learning behavior.
3. Teacher behavior affects pupil self-concept.

Research based upon the first hypothesis is concerned with identifying pupil characteristics related to styles of learning and high, low, or underachieving behaviors in the classroom. The second hypothesis is the basis for the major portion of educational research which seeks to identify the teacher behaviors that have a positive effect upon pupil learning behavior. The focus of research in this area has fallen upon teacher characteristics that determine the style of teaching and the nature of teacher-pupil interactions, in relation to measures of pupil academic performance.

The third hypothesis is one of limited interest to educational researchers and is generally reflected in studies of teachers' motivating behaviors that enhance the pupil's concept of self as an academic performer or to studies of teacher biases that encourage or inhibit pupil learning behaviors through their effect on pupil self-concept. It is the parents of pupils and the larger society that appear to be more concerned with this third hypothesis, but not as a research subject. Parents may appreciate or resent perceived changes in the behaviors of their children which they, correctly or incorrectly, attribute to the influence of a particular teacher, and society at large condemns the harmful effects of "permissiveness" in our schools or the "dictatorships" that are seen to exist, depending upon the represented point of view. But the society as a whole suffers or benefits not only from the levels of literacy existing in the society but also from the self-concepts of its members displayed in their attitudes toward others, the standards and values of their chosen leaders, and their participation and contributions in every role their society affords them.

Teachers are the largest body of representatives our society places in contact with its future citizens. It is our opinion that it is well worth the time and effort still to be expended in order to investigate the relationship between teacher classroom behaviors and the self-concepts of pupils apart from the question of pupils' academic achievement. Research studies which relate the concepts of self to academic and especially cognitive achievement at one single point in time may only obfuscate the true role of self-concept in the long-term development of the child. It is our firm belief that pupils who are perceived as worthwhile, participating, and contributing members in the smaller society of the classroom will eventually reflect that concept of self not only by their academic achievement but also by their achieving, participating, and contributing behaviors as members of the greater society.